

A STUDY OF THE POPULATION OF MANHATTANVILLE

BY

HOWARD BROWN WOOLSTON, M. A., S. T. B.

Formerly Lecturer in Sociology, Western Reserve University

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN THE

FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK

1909

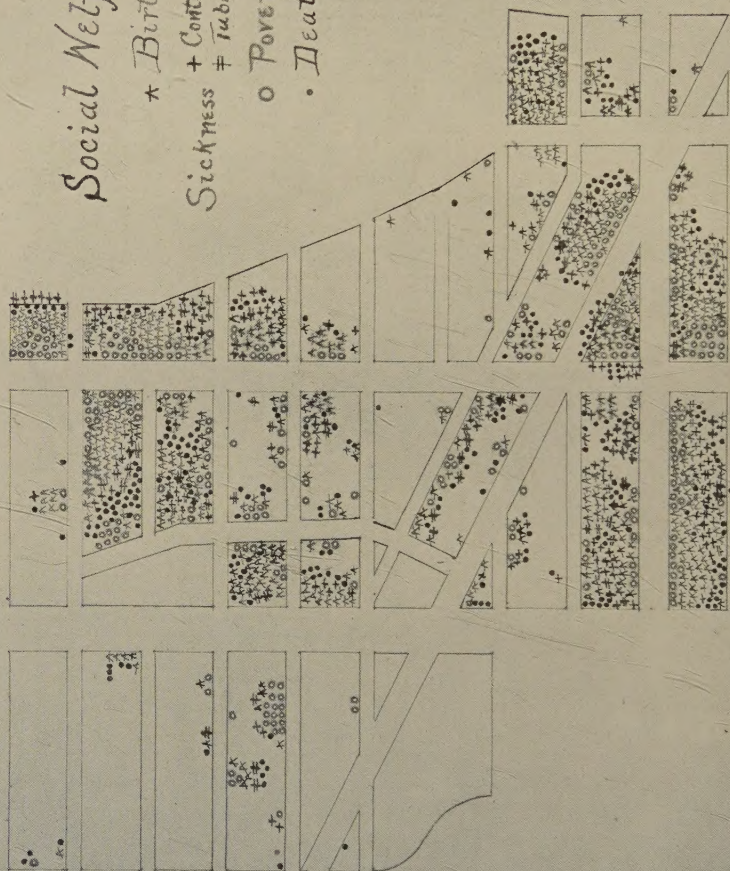
Social Welfare

* Births

+ Contagion
Sickness = Tuberculosis

o Poverty

• Death



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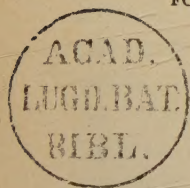
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PREFACE

THE purpose of this investigation is threefold. In the first place, it is hoped that the study may further illustrate an inductive method for the analysis of social groups. Such a method has been splendidly applied in the works of Charles Booth¹ and of Rowntree,² as well as in the more descriptive studies of regions of Boston and Chicago by the residents of South End House³ and of Hull House.⁴ Other examples of such treatment might be mentioned.⁵

In the second place, as originally planned, this study was to form part of a proposed report upon social conditions in Manhattanville, by the residents of Speyer School, a neighborhood center in the section. The practical purpose was to present a clear account of the needs and resources of the school "parish," as a basis for effective philanthropic and educational effort. A definite understanding of the facts in the situation was thought essential to any comprehensive scheme of betterment. In the investigation as thus planned, an analysis of the population formed but one section. Other chapters were to deal with the topography and history

¹ *Life and Labor in London.*

² *Poverty.*

³ *The City Wilderness ; Americans in Process.*

⁴ *Hull House Maps and Papers.*

⁵ Notably, T. J. Jones, *The Sociology of a New York City Block.*

of the region, with housing conditions and home life, with business interests, social activities, political organization and general ethical tendencies. It is obvious, therefore, that the present study is but a fragment of a complete investigation of neighborhood life. Its subject is a matter of sufficient interest and importance in itself, however, to merit presentation without the background of the various social institutions, which would undoubtedly make the sketch more vital and convincing. We have ventured, accordingly, to present a study of our neighbors, as illustrating the forces that are moulding the city.

Finally, it was believed that such an analysis of the conditions of neighborhood life might furnish material for a scientific program of social education in the school. A general outline of such a system was published by the writer in *Charities and The Commons* for September, 1906. The plan in brief is, to train the coming generation for effective citizenship by consistently developing their ability to observe and analyze the facts of the social life about them. Beginning with the institution closest to the child, namely, the Home, the instruction would proceed to consider local industries, civic control, and, finally, agencies for general culture. In this way the child at each stage in his educational career would be put in touch with those social organizations that most immediately affect his welfare. Thus the citizen and worker might become intelligent as to those local conditions that largely control his choice of occupation and political allegiance.

In such reading of the social book it is obvious that the neighborhood offers the pages most intelligible to one who would decipher the significance of a volume so vast as that presented by our great metropolitan

centers. The neighborhood displays cosmopolitan tendencies modified by local traditions. It shows urban conditions in scope as large as the mental vision, naturally provincial, can focus in one glance. The neighborhood thus forms the natural medium in passing from the limited circle of the home and school into the larger life of the local community and the national society of which it forms a part.

We have chosen for analysis a group of people who, because of a certain seclusion and historical continuity in the development of their neighborhood, may be said to be as homogeneous as any typical aggregation in a large city. At the same time the various influences to which the section has been subjected, and the different elements of which its population is composed, make it representative of the forces by which our cosmopolitan centers are evolved. Moreover, the fact that this is an old community, which is gradually being absorbed in the larger metropolis, lends an added interest to the description of its social economy. A few more years and the distinctive marks and neighborhood associations of Manhattanville will have been obliterated and replaced by the more commonplace economy of a section of New York. It is therefore worth while to attempt to define the characteristics of its inhabitants before they are swallowed up in the masses that are swarming over the island.

It is obvious that such a local group is not self-contained. It has manifold and intricate relations with the urban community about it. But this is true to a greater or less degree of every social group. It is equally true that every well-defined center of population is composed of individuals who, because of certain characteristics, react upon their social environment in a defi-

nite way. Types are thus evolved in response to the peculiar stimuli of the social situation—types that can be distinguished by traits or mannerisms often peculiar to the group. Local expressions, traditions, fashions, standards of life thus differ almost from street to street in certain quarters of our cities. Upper Fifth Avenue and lower Third are socially distinct regions. So is Hell's Kitchen different from Cherry Hill; and even Morningside has not the same mien as Washington Heights. It is to be regretted that these finer variations have not been more systematically observed, analyzed and classified by our sociologists. A body of information upon important aspects of the psychology of social groups might thus be organized which would be invaluable for the development of a valid theory of social motives.

All neighborhoods are not to be dealt with in the same manner, as every successful politician and canvasser knows. The springs of conduct have their sources deep in the underlying strata of racial, economic, religious and cultural formation of which our social world is built up. And yet too many legislators, reformers and educators attempt to control, to incite and to elevate portions of our commonwealths and classes of the people as though they were all of one constitution and temperament. This seems to be an error in tactics that involves a waste of energy. There appears to be room, therefore, for more careful study of the habits and mind of the people in any obvious social group. We are coming to see that only by understanding collective human motives can we wisely attempt to satisfy and direct them.

This study was begun in the autumn of 1904, and was continued for two years, while the writer was a resident in the neighborhood. It was resumed after two years'

absence, when the shifting of population had made obvious changes in the social situation. It is clear, therefore, that the section could not be described both as it was, say in 1905, and as it is to-day. Much of the statistical data could not be obtained for the present time, because no comprehensive census more recent than that of June, 1905, has been made. It seemed wisest, accordingly, to give a picture of the region as it was at the former date, illustrating the social tendencies by changes that have since occurred. The main purpose after all is to define, if possible, the characteristic "flavor" of the little community that is so rapidly being absorbed by the advancing tides of urban life. This is perhaps more essential than locating the total number of foreign households at the date of publication; and does not greatly differ from the retrospective procedure in any investigation based upon government statistics. Moreover, we are convinced that some such interpretation of official returns for considerable numbers is more satisfactory than an attempt at instant accuracy by means of personal canvass.

Even in such a limited presentation of facts, contributions from many sources have been used. The study in the main is based upon a transcript of the returns of the Federal Census of 1900, obtained through the courtesy of the Tenement House Department; and upon the Board of Health enumeration of 1905, secured through the kindly offices of the Registrar. Lesser sources are noted in the text, as are also works of reference from which suggestions have been obtained.

The writer wishes to express his indebtedness especially to Professor Giddings, with whose help and direction this much-interrupted study was pursued. To Dr. K. H. Claghorn, of the Tenement House Department,

thanks are due for access to much data from official records under her supervision; and also to Dr. Guilfoy, of the Department of Health. The recent files of Speyer School were made available through the kindness of the Principal, Miss Amy Schüssler. The writer also wishes to acknowledge his gratitude to Rev. H. R. Hulse, Rector of St. Mary's, for valuable notes on the early history of the parish. To Fr. John McCahill also for records of his congregation, and to Mr. Wm. B. Hogan for data on realty values special thanks are due.

The use made of such material is entirely the responsibility of the writer. It is hoped that the correctness of the facts upon which the study is made may atone for infelicities of method in presenting them.

H. B. W.

April, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION

TOURISTS who come down the Hudson by boat to New York seldom fail to notice Grant's Tomb. To the north of it the black arches of the Viaduct carry Riverside Drive above a fringe of wharves, and frame glimpses of storehouses, chimneys and tenements beyond. The waterfront is dominated by a towering gas tank that asserts the divine right of business. Such is the western aspect of Manhattanville.

Viewed from Morningside Heights this section has the appearance of an irregular oval, with its sides bent up against the surrounding hills. It is almost a mile from the Columbia Library north to City College. Between these peaks of learning the ground descends with equal slope more than one hundred feet within ten city blocks. This conformation early gave to the passage between the hills the name of the Hollow Way. On the east the converging spurs of Morningside Park and of Convent Hill partly enclose a natural amphitheater; while on the west the jutting banks of Riverside admit but a restricted waterfront. This almost secluded situation of Manhattanville protected it from too rapid incursion by the growing population to the south and east. The main lines of transportation passed beyond the hills. Only since the subway tapped this pocket has the old village begun to disappear before the advancing metropolis.

If one would really enter the neighborhood he must do so from the southeast, following Manhattan Street from St. Nicholas Avenue toward the North River. This old diagonal road is the thoroughfare between the industrial plants and receiving stations near the waterfront and the business section of Harlem to the east. It is almost exactly three-quarters of a mile from Hancock Place to the Fort Lee Ferry; and this gives the principal dimension of the neighborhood. The main streets north and south are Amsterdam Avenue and Broadway. The former is the chief business thoroughfare of this section, and has two lines of electric cars running downtown. Besides the surface line to the Ferry, Broadway boasts an "elevated subway," with a station at Manhattan Street. The numbered streets above 127th are interrupted by Convent Hill. There is only one cross-town route, via 125th and Manhattan Streets. From here to 134th Street (where there were only open lots four years ago)¹ is just about half a mile; and from the foot of Convent Avenue to the River it is approximately the same distance. This area, consisting of forty-two city blocks and segments, covers the site of old Manhattanville.²

As one comes into the neighborhood he notices that the tenements are smaller than the apartments he has left behind. Indeed, from the Viaduct one can distinguish the confines of the old village by the fresher walls of new buildings that rise above darker structures below them. Some of the brick houses are only two stories high; and an occasional single frame dwelling standing back from the street shows traces of a community older

¹ *Bromley Plates of Manhattan* for 1905, plate 39.

² See accompanying map.

than the flats about it. Open spaces where the rock crops out, and an odd plot or two still occupied by cabins of the "squatter" type, bear witness to the days when this was "Goatville." The crook in Old Broadway and the bias of Lawrence and Manhattan Streets show that these were traveled ways before the checkerboard of city streets was imposed. So well defined is the section that one can readily see that the north side of 124th Street does not belong to the neighborhood; whereas the south side of 125th does. In like manner it is plain that the apartments on St. Nicholas Avenue drain into another social region; whereas the tenements back of them on upper Morningside Avenue belong to the economic watershed of the Village.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

MANHATTANVILLE has a long, though somewhat obscure history. Its original white settlers came from the Dutch village of New Haarlem on the other side of the island. Manhattan Street follows the course of the old trail that branched off from the road to Spuyten Duyvil (St. Nicholas Ave.) and led to the Round Meadow of Moetje David's Vly by Harlem Cove (now the Fort Lee Ferry).¹ The valley was then soft bottom-land, perhaps once the channel of a former mouth of the Hudson.² Three or four little streams flowing down from the hillside, were caught in a string of pools and drained off eastward into a creek that still shows traces in the north end of Central Park. The meadow in the Hollow Way and the land north to the rim of Joachim Pieter's Hills (134th St.) became the property of Peter van Oblemus.³ Along the more rugged southern hills, in 1712, seven plots (known as lots 8 to 14 of the first division of the

¹ For details of the early history of Manhattanville, Riker's *History of Harlem* is the principal authority. *The Annals of St. Michael's*, by Dr. J. P. Peters, also contains references to St. Mary's parish. Aside from the maps and scattered statements in these works, the traditions of the old inhabitants have been used.

² Cf. *Sanitary Condition of New York* (Citizens' Association, 1865), p. 335.

³ This was the ground on which Manhattanville was later built. Direct descendants of the original owner still rent tenements in the neighborhood.

lands of New Haarlem) were laid off.¹ These sloping fields were at first probably pasture lots. Later barns and dwellings were built on these little farms; and so the section gained its first settled population.

Manhattanville thus began its existence as an outlying portion of New Haarlem. The latter village was incorporated in 1660,² and comprised the territory north of a line from 74th Street and East River to 129th Street and the North River. In 1661 the town numbered twenty-three families.³ But, lest it be supposed that this original population was homogeneous and undifferentiated Dutch, we may note that the thirty-two men registered in the first enumeration were distributed among six nationalities as follows: 11 French, 7 Hollanders, 4 Wallons, 3 Germans, 4 Danes and 3 Swedes.⁴ The lines of classification were early drawn between the clergy and the landholders on the one hand, and the laborers and traders on the other. At least such were the traditional distinctions the colonists brought with them. Furthermore, in the original settlement at the southern end of the island, we find a division into Great and Small Burghers established before this time.⁵ The right to hold office and to engage in trade was thus secured upon the basis of birth, profession or property. The exigencies of early colonial life doubtless mitigated these distinctions, since all had to fight and work. Trapping, farming and trading were the natural occupations of the settlers.

By 1664, Harlem was a stockaded village with a militia of twenty-nine men, and boasting a church and com-

¹ Cf. Riker's map, *op. cit.*, p. 832.

² O'Callaghan, *Register of New Netherlands*, p. xix (*Annals*).

³ C. H. Pierce, *New Harlem*, p. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵ O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-4.

mon.¹ Within the next ten years the town spread westward from the East River to Snake Hill (Mt. Morris Park), and extended from about 117th Street to 126th. It was a thrifty Dutch farming community of some forty families in 1695,² with a stone kirk, whose sexton originally received the equivalent of nine dollars and sixty cents per annum.³ The simple tenor of its social life we may gather from the pleasant pictures in Riker. The characteristics of its inhabitants may be inferred from traditional representations of the Dutch—sturdy, industrious, phlegmatic, conservative, with a love of good cheer and devotion to old friends, but at times over-cunning and cruel. Such were the men who planted the first fields in Manhattanville. But their influence does not seem to have been continuous in the western valley. So we must leave the story of Harlem to the historian, and turn our attention toward another quarter.

During the latter half of the seventeenth century events were occurring on the high seas which were to determine the fate of Manhattan. The English were fighting the Dutch for the monopoly of western trade, and New Netherlands presented a decided obstacle to England's mastery of the North Atlantic coast. We are all familiar with the facts of the settlement of New Amsterdam by the Dutch, and its subsequent capture by the English. Washington Irving, in his whimsical way, has made us acquainted with the characters in this early history. Certain it is, that after the Dutch lost the city their influence decreased as that of the English developed. Under the Georges, New York began to borrow

¹ C. H. Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

² Miller, *New York* (ed. Shea), p. 37 (*table*).

³ Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

her modes of life from the mother country, and the place became as much like its illustrious pattern as colonial conditions would admit.¹ It is scarcely necessary to attempt the analysis of colonial life and character, however. It suffices for our purpose to note that after 1664 the control of the island was in the hands of the English.

From 1697 on we can trace the growth of New York by means of the various colonial, city, state and federal enumerations. The following table, copied from the valuable work of F. B. Hough,² is of interest as showing the character and growth of the colonial population. It will be seen from this table that negroes formed from 14 per cent. to 20 per cent. of the population. Practically all of these were slaves.

At the time of the Revolution, Manhattanville emerges into historical prominence. During the campaigns about New York, Washington established a line of fortifications along the heights from Spuyten Duyvil to the Hollow Way. It was in this latter vicinity that the battle of Harlem Heights was fought, September 16, 1776. We need not here recount the story in detail.³ The Americans crossed the Hollow Way from the northern hills; climbed the heights of Morningside, and defeated the British on the ground west of Columbia University. Washington is said to have watched the conflict from a rocky spur of Convent Hill at 126th Street. From the indications of war maps, one would infer that the section at that time was practically unoccupied.

¹ Cf. Singleton, *New York Under The Georges*. It must be noted, however, that Dutch was at first necessary for trade among the merchantmen along the river.

² *Statistics of the Population of the City and County of New York*, pp. 7-12.

³ An excellent account of this skirmish will be found in the work of H. P. Johnston, *The Battle of Harlem Heights*, Macmillan, 1897.

TABLE I
COLONIAL ENUMERATIONS OF NEW YORK CITY

Date	Whites				Negroes			Total Population	
	Men	Women	Children	Total Whites	Men	Women	Children		Total Blacks
1698.....	1,019	1,057	2,161 m. 934 f. 989	4,237				4,937	
1703.....	813	1,009		3,745	102	288	m. 131 f. 109	630	
1712 ¹	1,122	1,365	1,197	4,866	321	320	155	975	
1723.....	1,460	1,726	1,352	5,886	408	476	220	975	
1731 ²	2,628	2,250	1,143	7,945	599	607	258	1,362	
1737 ²	3,253	3,568	1,088	8,945	674	609	186	1,577	
1746 ¹	2,156	2,897	2,117	9,273	721	609	207	1,719	
1749 ¹	2,948	3,268	2,364	10,926	721	569	419	2,444	
1756 ¹	2,482	3,667	2,260	10,768	651	701	460	2,444	
1771 ¹	5,303	5,864	3,720	18,726	932	695	552	2,368	
						1,085	468	2,278	
							568	3,137	

¹ Children under 16 years.² Children under 10 years.

During the War of 1812 a line of defenses was built along Morningside and the heights commanding the north, from McGown's Pass (in Central Park) to the Barrier Gate on Bloomingdale Road. Two of these outposts lay just beyond the southern limits of our neighborhood. A part of the rocky base of Fort Laight may still be seen at 123rd Street and Broadway. Block House No. 3 was at the north end of Morningside Park near Amsterdam Avenue.¹ After this stirring era, the section again falls into obscurity, and only by stray references can its development be traced.

Old maps show² that the original settlement of New York centered about Bowling Green, gradually extending along the East River to Wall Street, and then spreading up the Bowery. But when the southern end of the island was peopled and the inhabitants began to look northward, the eastern side was fairly well occupied by those who had followed up the Boston Post Road.³ The flat area of Harlem had already been preëmpted by the Dutch. Consequently there was only one other way for the advancing population to move, that was, up the Hudson. Gradually Bloomingdale (the territory lying west of Central Park) was opened up and connected with outlying centers to the north. This development was significant for our neighborhood, in that it brought about the laying of a road connecting this western valley directly with the growing city to the south. After 1800, Bloomingdale Road was continued from 114th Street,

¹ See Hall's map in *City Club Excursion Leaflet*, no. 4, p. 4.

² See the excellent series in Janvier's *Old New York*.

³ This road, connecting Harlem with the lower city, was put through in 1672, and mails were dispatched to Boston the next year. Cf. Wilson, *Memorial History of New York*, vol. i, p. 355.

joining Kingsbridge Road about a mile farther north.¹ The steepness of the cliffs to the east determined the course of this road through the Hollow Way. It was a continuation of Broadway, branching into Riverside Drive at 110th Street, and then slanting eastward to descend from Morningside Heights. This bend and the reverse turn up hill have been perpetuated in Old Broadway. At 136th Street the road again swung east through Hamilton Place into Carmensville. In 1819 a stage line was established from Chambers Street to what was then a small hamlet in the Hollow.² At 129th Street a natural halting place was found. This became a station on the stage route, where passengers changed for High Bridge,³ and a post-office was later located across the street. Along this River Road the gentry of New York began to plant their houses. Claremont—now the rectory near Grant's Tomb—was the property of a Mr. Hogan, and later became for a time the residence of Joseph Bonaparte.⁴ The country house of Jacob Schiefelin was at 144th Street.⁵ Hamilton's residence is still preserved at 141st Street and Convent Avenue. The Lawrence mansion overlooked the valley from the bluff to the northwest. In 1807, Gouverneur Morris and Simon DeWitt laid out a system of streets as far as 155th.⁶ The names of the region to the north—Hamilton Place, Lafayette Boulevard, Washington Heights—

¹ Cf. *Historical Address on the Semi-Centennial of St. Mary's*, by Rev. T. M. Peters. The writer is indebted to the Rev. Mr. Hulse, Rector of the parish, for citations from this rare document.

² Cf. Peters, *Annals of St. Michael's*, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁴ Cf. *Old Buildings of New York City*, Brentano, 1907, p. 129 *et seq.*

⁵ Peters, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

⁶ Cf. *Leslie's History of Greater New York*, vol. i, p. 456.

show the influences active when that section was opened up. Hamilton's personality especially seems to have been felt in the community. He is said to have been a member of the congregation that later built St. Mary's Episcopal Church on Lawrence Street. Certainly members of his family were identified with the work of this parish.

Before 1812 there was no Manhattanville;¹ but a map of Harlem Heights dated two years later, gives the section its name, and shows its streets sparsely bordered with houses.² In 1823 there were perhaps fifteen dwellings in the valley, and two private schools.³ There were more people scattering to the east along Harlem Plain. The population seems to have been composed mostly of poor British and Dutch-Americans. We know there were also a few negroes.⁴ There was no place of public worship in the neighborhood until St. Mary's was built in 1826, as a mission church with a school, sustained largely by St. Michael's parish and the gifts of a few wealthy members of the congregation.

The Blue Book of 1815 shows the fields of Thomas Buckley, John Lawrence, Jacob Schieffelin, Jacob Lorillard, Barrow, Byrd, Hamersly, Hogan and Molèneor, as occupying the territory covered by our section. Most of the land in the valley bottom belonged to the first three gentlemen. In 1823 Mr. Schieffelin laid out the village in plots along six streets. Two of these transverse lanes remain as Manhattan and Lawrence streets;

¹ Peters, *loc. cit.*

² Cf. Wilson, *Memorial History of New York*, vol. iii, p. 281.

³ Most of the information on the early history of Manhattanville is gleaned from the address of Rev. T. M. Peters referred to *supra*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

and the northernmost still shows its center line by the irregular arrangement of lots between 130th and 131st Streets, east of Old Broadway. A Quaker meeting house once stood on old Phineas Street (which ran at right angles to Lawrence) just east of St. Mary's church.

The cholera visitation of 1832 brought great distress to this section, as yet without the organization of city life. But the energy of the parish visitors brought aid and comfort to those in distress.¹ The village continued to grow; and in 1846, a guide-book of the city mentions Manhattanville as a suburb of 500 inhabitants.² By 1850, the population had increased, but had greatly changed in character.³ Several industries had moved in, and foreign workmen began to appear in numbers. At this time services were conducted in German by an assistant of St. Mary's.⁴ In 1851 the Hudson River Railroad was completed, connecting Manhattanville with the lower city. Previous to this time the main line of transportation had been by stage to 33rd Street and Sixth Avenue. The coming of rapid transit changed Bloomingdale from a fashionable suburb into a line of settlements, and Manhattanville also developed.⁵ The streets were partly paved to give work to the laborers thrown out of employment by the panic of 1857.⁶ A dispensary and a library were established. The village began to assume some importance. Let us see how the development came about.

The population of New York grew rapidly in the per-

¹ Cf. T. M. Peters, *Address*.

² Peters, *Annals*, p. 83.

³ Sermon of J. P. Peters at St. Mary's, Mar. 8, 1908.

⁴ Peters, *Annals*, p. 293.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 125.

⁶ T. M. Peters, address cited.

iod following the Revolution. In 1786 it was 23,614;¹ in 1807 it was 83,530. The increase from 1805 to 1845 according to the report of the City Inspector (1852), amounted to 296,453. The civic and economic character of the people may be indicated by the following table:²

TABLE II

STATE CENSUS OF ELECTORS AND FREEMEN OF NEW YORK CITY

Date	Total Electors	Income £100 and over	Income £20 and over	Renters 40s. and over	Freemen
1790..	5,184	1,209	1,221	2,661	93
1795..	7,272	2,144	10	4,948	170
1801..	8,088	2,332	19	5,693	44
1807..	12,416	3,000	20	9,334	62
1814..	13,941	3,141	17	10,763	20
1821..	16,659	3,881	17	12,761	(3,266) ³

It is evident from this registration that the old lines of property and birth were still drawn. It is interesting also to note, that the class of those who owned property valued at £100 or over, and also the petty renters, increased most rapidly, though not with equal rapidity. Thus it appears that the city economy early established a division between those who had amassed wealth and the wage-earning tenants. On the other hand, the number of slaves was diminishing. In 1800 there were 2868 as against 518 in 1820.⁴ In view of the law that declared the children of slaves born after 1799 free upon

¹ See Hough, *op. cit.*, p. 15.² *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.³ Free males taxed but not electors.⁴ Hough, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

majority, it soon became more profitable to hire the increasing number of laborers than to own negroes.

In the late forties the immigrants began to arrive in large numbers. The troublous times in Germany, and the famine in Ireland sent most of them. It was from these elements that the underlying strata of the present population of Manhattanville were composed. In 1820 there were 5390 aliens in the city; in 1855 there were 232,678.¹ At the latter date, out of a population of 17,562, the northern ward of the city had 957 native voters, as against 787 naturalized, and numbered 7864 alien inhabitants.² In 1865 the figures for approximately the same section, were: white population, 27,823; colored, 436; aliens, 4361;³ native voters 2379; naturalized voters, 2341. From these figures it is obvious that many foreigners were seeking homes in Harlem. The nature of the place attracted them. Rents were cheap, and land was to be had for cultivating. According to the State Census of 1865, almost half the gardeners of the city lived in the 12th Ward.⁴ The people were mostly engaged in rough labor, with a goodly proportion in teaching, in small public offices and employees of institutions. The numbers in mechanical and mercantile pursuits were comparatively small. There were 3262 inhabited dwellings valued at nearly \$14,000,000, about double the figures for ten years earlier.⁵

In the sixties we are able again to find specific information on Manhattanville. A picture in the possession of Teachers College shows the neighborhood as it ap-

¹ Hough, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-241.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 239, 241.

³ This number is reduced by reason of subtracting the foreign element in the 19th Ward, which was divided off shortly before.

⁴ Hough, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-280.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

peared in 1861 from Fort Laight. This cut shows a group of frame dwellings centering about Lawrence Street and Old Broadway. Near the river is Tieman's color works;¹ in the center are the Church of the Annunciation (Roman Catholic) and Saint Mary's; and on the eastern background is the Convent of the Sacred Heart. By this time, then, we are assured that there was a population of industrious small property holders, many of whom were Catholics. In 1865 the inhabitants of the section known as Manhattanville numbered 2,189.² The area comprised in this census is larger than that with which we are concerned, extending from 110th Street to 135th Street, and from Sixth or Seventh Avenue to the river. The number given is somewhat too large therefore, although the population in the surrounding section was more scattered than in the Hollow.³ These people were mostly Irish and Germans, with a sprinkling of Americans.

The Irish began to move in during the forties. At least their good works appear in a way to indicate numbers about that time. The Academy and Convent of the Sacred Heart were established in 1846.⁴ Manhattan College was founded (as the Academy of the Holy Infancy) in 1853.⁵ The next year the Church of the Annunciation (at 131st Street and Old Broadway) was dedicated.⁶ The

¹ Recently dismantled. ² Hough's map accompanying work cited.

³ For most of the information concerning conditions in Manhattanville at this date, the writer is indebted to the report of Dr. L. A. Rodenstein, Sanitary Inspector for the 28th Dist., contained in the *Report of the Council of Hygiene of the Citizens' Assn.*, for 1865 (already referred to), especially pp. 335-342.

⁴ Cf. Goulding's *Catholic Churches of New York City*, p. 739. The original buildings were wrecked by fire. Only the shrine of St. Ann was preserved, it is said, by a miracle.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 730.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

people settled on the old diagonal streets between 129th and 132nd, east of the church. *The Report of the Citizens Association* for 1865 mentions the carelessness of the Irish laborers in this section as to matters of sanitation.¹ Certain it is that some of the most primitive houses in our neighborhood are in the vicinity of Old Broadway. Although there were well-to-do members in the parish, the greater number seemed to have been rather poor folk who left the old country because of the difficulties of gaining a livelihood there. They were mostly engaged in the rough work of transportation and construction.² Their income was not infrequently supplemented by the proceeds of a truck patch and the ruminations of a goat.

The German colony centered on Lawrence Street, which rapidly became a populous thoroughfare. The people were mostly South Germans and Catholics. In 1860 St. Joseph's (R. C.) Church was built for the edification of this group.³ The establishment of Youngling's brewery afforded occupation and consolation for the colony. The Germans were mostly laborers, artisans, and small trades-people. Being naturally thrifty, they soon acquired little shops, houses and gardens. Some of these quaint frame dwellings, set back in a little plot of green, can still be seen along Lawrence Street. If the Irish were reckless, the Germans were stolid. The Sanitary Inspector for this district in 1865 complains that the former were likely to neglect an invalid, and the latter might overwhelm him in the embraces of a feather bed.⁴

From this time on, by the aid of maps and the recol-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 342.

² *Ibid.*, p. 340.

³ *Cf. Goulding, op. cit.*, p. 462.

⁴ *Report cited*, p. 342.

lections of the older inhabitants, we can follow the growth of the section more closely. In 1865 Bloomingdale Road was the main highway of Manhattanville. Manhattan Street connected the ferry and railroad station on the North River with 125th Street at Ninth Avenue; Amsterdam Avenue was merely the route of water mains; 129th and 130th Streets were laid out; Eighth Avenue was a good driving road. From 125th Street and Tenth (Amsterdam) Avenue an abandoned canal following the old water-course stretched southeast to 117th Street and Sixth Avenue.¹ Such were the main lines of travel.

Before 1865 the principal method of communication between Harlem and the city had been by stage-coach and steamboat. At this date a line of cars was established that carried passengers from 125th Street to City Hall in an hour and a half.² This increased communication led to a rapid northern movement of the population. In 1867 another street-car line was laid out Eighth Avenue to Harlem, and houses began to cluster at points north of 100th Street along the Park.³ In 1875 the 19th Ward numbered 42,501.⁴ This wave did not at first invade the Hollow however. The plates in the early and middle seventies show a scattering group of houses along Manhattan and Lawrence Streets, but practically no building north of 130th. The woolen mill and the Sheltering Arms Orphan Asylum also appear. The regular city blocks had already been laid out between Amsterdam Avenue and Broadway, but only 130th and 133rd Streets were carried through to the river.⁵

¹ *Report* cited, pp. 337-8.

² *Leslie's Hist.*, vol. i, p. 457.

³ Peters, *Annals*, p. 125.

⁴ Map, Department of Public Works, 1875.

⁵ See *Dripps' Map* for 1876.

In 1880 a great stride was made in the development of Harlem. The "elevated" was put through, and city flats began to rise rapidly.¹ The realty maps of this time show a community of some 200 dwellings and other buildings in Manhattanville. The Brothers' parochial school had been established on 131st Street, and a police court was located at 102 Lawrence Street.² Evidently the neighborhood was growing in importance.

During the next decade the growth increased. The plates for 1891 show over 600 buildings of all kinds, among which are several rows of flats along the southern edge of the neighborhood and scattering up Amsterdam Avenue and Old Broadway. Two streets (126th and 127th) had been put through Convent Hill. Evidently the city economy had come in; the cottages and cabins began to disappear.

In 1895 the 12th Ward had 364,412 inhabitants, with a density of 61.6 to the acre.³ This was about one-tenth the density of the crowded East Side; but twenty times greater than that of the Bronx. The average number of people to a house was twenty. Still the crest of the advancing wave had not reached this far northwest. The Twenty-third Assembly District (including territory to the southeast and as far north as Spuyten Duyvil) numbered 54,046. But soon the tenements and stores in solid rows crept across 125th Street and up Amsterdam Avenue. Flats rose along 132nd and 133rd Streets. In 1900 the population of Manhattanville was 14,675.⁴ More Irish families came up from the lower West Side to take advantage of the lower rents. The silk mill attracted

¹ Cf. *Leslie's Hist.*, vol. i, p. 459.

² *Bromley Plates* for 1879.

³ *Police Census of New York*.

⁴ *Tenement House Report*, 1902, vol. ii.

many German and Swiss weavers. A few Italians and Jews from the East Side moved in to establish themselves in small shops. At this time there were more foreign-born than native heads of families. Finally, in September, 1904, the subway brought direct rapid transit between the neighborhood and the business center of the city. As a result the section has grown by leaps. Literally acres of new apartment houses are being built on the spaces south of 127th Street, between Broadway and Riverside. Along the northern hill west of Amsterdam Avenue, still larger operations have covered the ground. Within our neighborhood the old wooden tenements are disappearing to make room for modern rows. Rents have advanced; a new class of people is rapidly moving in. Let us turn then to an analysis of the population as it was between 1900 and 1905, with a view to discovering the character of the people who form the basis of the citizenship in this locality.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF POPULATION

THE most fundamental condition that determines the welfare of a social group, is the number and character of its members. The mass of the population decides the relation of the people to their habitat, as well as the extent and complexity of their organized activities. Especially in regard to the manner and means of livelihood, is the density of the population significant. We have seen that when the valley was divided into a few farms, the soil was sufficient to sustain perhaps twenty families. But when the land was laid out in a number of small plots, agriculture could be only a supplementary means of support. At first space was available for stables, sheds and storage yards. A large number of these is still to be seen between Broadway and the River, and along the foot of Convent Hill. But they are gradually giving way to receiving stations and stores. The industrial plants are being pushed over toward the River, and some of them are going out. The educational and philanthropic institutions still hold on, although it is likely that Manhattan College will soon dispose of its present site and seek another farther away from the noise of the city. The small shops, save those that supply the daily needs of flat-dwellers (such as groceries, laundries, drug and notion stores), are being hard pressed by the larger establishments advancing along 125th Street. The

new apartment houses are taller and more expensive than the tenements about them. It is interesting to see how in these respects, an inductive study of the development of the neighborhood illustrates and confirms the economic principle of the rising marginal utility of land under pressure of population. The numbers, density and distribution of the population by blocks in 1900 and 1905, are given in the following table.¹

¹Since the Insurance Plates, the Tenement House Department, the State Enumeration and the Department of Health all number blocks differently, the writer has designated them by using figures in the thousands, indicating the numbered avenues (or streets corresponding to them) west of which the tier is located. The first three digits designate the numbered streets north of which the blocks are situated. "East" ("e") and "West" ("w") indicate that the block is east or west of an avenue intervening between the regular twelve north and south thoroughfares of the island. "North" ("n") indicates in the case of diagonal blocks, that they are not bounded on the south by a numbered street, but begin north of the line of such street.

Areas are taken from the maps of the *First Report of the Tenement House Department*. When not there given, they were calculated from the *Bromley Plates* for 1905.

The population for 1900 was also taken from the *Tenement House Report*. For blocks not given therein, it was obtained from the Federal returns in the possession of the Tenement House Department. The numbers for 1905 were obtained from the *New York State Census*, pp. 238-242, plotted according to the map in possession of the Federation of Churches. The other column for the same year is according to the returns of the City Department of Health. Some discrepancies will be noted between the figures of the latter enumerations. As both were taken in the early summer of 1905, only the enumerators can explain the variations. It may be remarked in passing however, that the earlier was taken by a Democratic city administration, the other by a Republican state organization. Redistricting in Manhattanville followed the latter.

For the density in 1905, the figures of the Health Department were used, except for the blocks where it made no returns.

TABLE III

POPULATION—NUMBERS, DENSITY AND DISTRIBUTION BY BLOCKS

Block Number	Area	Population			Density per acre	
		Federal Returns, 1900	State Census, 1905	Health Dept., 1905	1900	1905
8124 w	2.549 a.	239	209	220	93	86
8125 w	2.956	349	652	637	111	215
8126 w	2.894	1206	1248	1144	417	395
9124	5.423	755	925	872	139	161
9125	6.393	1268	1297	1409	198	220
9125 w	2.513	435	518	526	173	209
9126 e	2.241	354	340	322	157	144
9127 w	4.563	178	116	155	39	34
9128 w	4.124	....	....	12	...	3
9129 w	3.235	100	288	300	31	93
9130 w	2.614	729	874	804	278	307
9131 w	3.462	608	933	965	175	279
9133 w	1.693	456	551	531	271	314
10124	5.794	759	1706	2272	131	392
10125	5.785	1691	2012	1964	292	334
10126	3.581	152	155	134	41	37
10127 w	1.497	179	155	196	120	131
10126 n.e	4.795	645	666	721	135	150
10127 n.w	1.962	49	14	14	25	7
10127 n.e	3.193	178	295	210	56	66
10128 n.w	.380	25	17	24	66	63
10129 e	3.384	299	478	534	88	156
10129 w	2.238	249	353	358	111	160
10130 e	3.181	344	364	325	108	102
10130 w	2.148	475	575	617	221	287
10131 e	3.253	875	1176	1101	269	338
10131 w	3.684	....	46	95	...	26
10132 e	3.641	985	1157	1146	271	315
10133	5.282	167	....	160	31	30
11127	8.342	32	16	31	4	4
11128 e	1.638	4	2	14	2	9
11129 e	4.350	64	79	81	15	19
11129 w	.869	28	31	6	32	7
11130	5.282	455	419	400	85	76
11131	5.282	98	74	59	18	11
11132	5.282	74	88	107	14	20
11133	5.222	21	24	3	4	.574
12129	1.988					
12130	2.288	....	11	7	...	3
12131	1.611	....	31	....	...	19
12132	1.590	....	28	....	...	18
12133	1.623					
43 blocks	143.825 acres	14675	17923	18476	102 Av.	128 per a.

It will be seen that this section of forty-two blocks and portions thereof, comprising an area of about a quarter of a square mile, contained in 1900, 14,675 people. This is a population sufficient for a good-sized country town; but might easily be contained in the five blocks north of Houston Street, between Avenues B and C. Only three blocks numbered over one thousand persons; and these are all along the southern edge of the neighborhood, where the solid and dumb-bell brick tenements were first built. In 1905 the population had increased to 18,476, a growth of almost 26 per cent. Five blocks then had a population of over one thousand, and one had over two thousand. Three of these have been noted, and a fourth is also along 125th Street. The other two are between 131st and 132d Streets, bordering on Amsterdam Avenue and Old Broadway. Wherever the tall rows go up, there the people crowd in. The average density for the neighborhood increased from 102 per acre to 128 in five years. The latter figure is scarcely representative, however, because the blocks vary so widely. Sixteen had less than forty-five people per acre, and two had no habitations. Seven had between three and four hundred people per acre. This juxtaposition of open lots and teeming tenements is characteristic of the transitional state of Manhattanville. The southern portion is peopled about as thickly as the upper East Side along Second Avenue or the lower West Side along Seventh Avenue. In contrast, that section between Broadway and the River is like a suburb in respect to scattered houses.

In 1900 there were 573 dwellings in the section, accommodating 3221 households.

TABLE IV
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS TO A DWELLING, 1900

Households to a Dwelling	No. Houses so Occupied	No. Households in such Dwellings
1	177	177
2	52	104
3	38	114
4	38	152
5	19	95
6	24	144
7	29	203
8	30	240
9	34	306
10	21	201
11	29	319
12	23	276
13	16	208
14	17	238
15	10	150
16	6	96
17	3	51
18	1	18
19	4	76
20	1	20
24	1	24

The neighborhood thus averaged between five and six households to a dwelling. Such a figure is deceptive, however, since the single houses outnumbered any other type except the larger tenements. By far the greatest number of people live in five-story flats with two suites on each floor. No less than 2737 families, aggregating 1173 persons, were classified as tenement dwellers.¹ That is, 80 per cent of the population shared their houses with other families. By 1905, sixty-four of the old dwellings—most of them single frame houses—had disappeared to

¹ *Tenement House Report*, 1903, vol. ii, pp. 124-125.

A tenement house is defined as one occupied by three or more families who do cooking on the premises, or by two (or more) such families on one floor.

make room for more capacious buildings, and fifty-seven new apartment houses had arisen along the southern border of the neighborhood and scattering through the section. But whereas the old dwellings had sheltered from one to four families, the recently built flats accommodate more than twenty households. Several new "Raines Law Hotels" and lodging houses had also been added, so that the mean number of persons to a house has been raised within the last few years. In 1905 there were 566 dwellings. This gives an average of over thirty-two people to a house.

In 1900 the Federal returns showed 3221 households for this section. On the basis of the population for that year, the "families" would average between four and five persons.¹ The exact figures for the tenement house population are given in the following table:

TABLE V

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN A FAMILY. TENEMENT HOUSE POPULATION, 1900 ²							
Persons to a Family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 8
No. Families.....	73	469	532	525	473	308	173 84
No. Persons	73	938	1596	2100	2365	1848	1211 672
Persons to a Family	9	10	11	12	13	Total	
No. Families.....	58	22	13	6	1	2737	
No. Persons	522	220	143	72	13	11773	

On analyzing the figures for all "families," we find that besides parents, children and relatives, servants, boarders and other persons are included. These elements were distributed among the households in the following proportions:

¹ 4.5 is the figure used by the Tenement House Department in estimating population from number of apartments.

² Abstracted from *Tenement House Report*, vol. ii, pp. 124-5.

persons under twenty years, 41 per cent of the total population. Evidently the community does not increase rapidly by multiplication. For the year ending June 1, 1905, the Department of Health recorded 486 births and 312 deaths in the neighborhood. This gives a birth-rate of 26.36 per thousand, and a death-rate of 16.89. Accordingly, the rate of genetic increase for that year was 9.47 *per mille*. All these figures are low for an urban community. Applying the rate of multiplication to the numbers for 1900, we find that the population should have amounted in 1905 to 15,383¹—a growth of only 5 per cent as against an actual increase of 26 per cent. From these figures one would naturally conclude that the greater part of the increase in this section is due rather to the congregation of outsiders than to the growth of the native element. This fact, which is more or less true of all large cities, is capable of more precise demonstration in this community.

It would be unfair to compare the development of Manhattanville with that of the city at large, since so many different factors have been involved. It is allowable, however, to contrast the growth of this section with that of the Twelfth Ward as a whole. In 1865, the population of the ward was 28,259;² in 1900 it was 462,227.³ For these same years Manhattanville numbered 2,189 and 14,675 people. On comparing the ratios of growth for the two, it is obvious that our community has not kept pace with the territory about it. If it had increased at the same rate, its population would now be more than double the present number. Of course its

¹For the mathematics involved in this operation see Newsholme, *Vital Statistics*, pp. 5-7. The formula is $P' = P(1 \pm r)^n$.

²Hough, *op. cit.*

³*T. H. Rept.*, vol. ii, p. 227.

narrowly restricted area, as compared with that of the entire ward, partly explains its diminishing importance.¹ Still its comparatively early settlement would lead one to suppose that this might have become a thickly peopled center. We therefore conclude that some cause prevented people entering the section as rapidly as into adjacent neighborhoods. As already indicated, this hypothesis is correct. The slow growth is largely due to the location of Manhattanville. Its situation among the hills prevented it from obtaining access to the main lines of communication with the city. This meant that the incoming tides of population sweeping up the island passed farther east. Nevertheless, the neighborhood has attracted a goodly quota of transients and immigrants.

Referring to Table VI (page 38), we note that in 1900 10.7 per cent of the population was composed of boarders, servants, inmates of institutions, and persons whose connections in the community were unknown. We may assume without much risk of error that practically all of these people were not vitally related to the population that has grown up here. Further investigation of the composition of households reveals the fact also that 1691 heads of tenement families were foreign-born as against 1046 native. Moreover, 82.83 per cent of all these persons were of foreign parentage.² Comparing these figures with those for the entire ward and for all Manhattan, we have the following proportions:

¹ The section comprises 2.3 per cent. of the area of the ward. In 1865 it contained 7.7 per cent of the population; in 1900, 3.1 per cent.

² *T. H. Rept.*, vol. ii, pp. 61-3.

TABLE VIII

NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE. HEADS OF FAMILIES, 1900¹

	Native Born		Total Native	Foreign Born	Totals
	Native Parents	Foreign Parents			
Manhattanville.					
Tenement Households.	442 13.72%	604 18.75%	1,046 32.47%	1,691 52.50%	2,737 84.97%
Non-tenement Households	111 3.45%	100 3.10%	211 6.55%	273 8.48%	484 15.03%
Total Households .	553 17.17%	704 21.85%	1,257 39.02%	1,964 60.98%	3,221 100%
Ward XII.					
Tenement Households.	16,583 16.01%	19,519 18.85%	36,102 34.86%	49,210 47.51%	85,312 82.37%
Non-tenement Households	4,668 4.51%	4,504 4.35%	9,172 8.86%	9,086 8.77%	18,258 17.63%
Total Households .	21,252 20.52%	24,023 23.19%	45,274 43.71%	58,296 56.28%	103,570 100%
Manhattan.					
Tenement Households.	40,495 10.35%	56,112 14.35%	96,607 24.70%	222,951 57.01%	319,558 81.71%
Non-tenement Households	16,390 4.19%	14,090 3.60%	30,480 7.79%	41,038 10.49%	71,518 18.28%
Total Households .	56,885 14.54%	70,202 17.95%	127,087 32.49%	263,989 67.50%	391,076 100%

It will be seen from this table that our section has acquired a larger percentage of tenement families than the Ward or the Borough as a whole. Many of these people were thrifty foreigners, who valued a cheap and fairly comfortable home more than style or convenience in liv-

¹ Abstracted from *T. H. Rept.*, vol. ii, pp. 61-3, 225-7, and from returns of the Federal Census.

ing. Hence three-fifths of the households have sprung from persons born abroad. This proportion is not so great as that for all Manhattan with its Ghetto and its Hell's Kitchen; but it is larger than the percentage for the Ward as a whole. The table on page 43 shows the number of years these foreigners have been in the country, and indicates the successive waves of immigration that have flowed over the island.

Evidently the Irish, German and English settlers were the earliest to arrive in numbers. Then followed the French and Swiss artisans and the Scandinavian workmen. Within the last twenty-five years the Jewish tradesman and the Slavic and Italian laborer have appeared. Over 40 per cent of these immigrants came to the United States between 1880 and 1890; not quite 30 per cent had landed before 1875. Of course this does not imply that they moved at once to Manhattanville. Consequently we are all the more impressed with the comparatively recent aggregation of the present population.

In 1905 the foreign-born numbered 5319, *i. e.*, 28 per cent of the total population. Apparently the proportion of immigrants greatly diminished within five years. But if we should include the native-born children of foreign parents, the percentage of alien stock would be much higher. A fairer comparison with the figures for 1900 is the number of foreign-born males of voting age. In 1905, from the canvass of eight blocks in the 5th, 9th and 10th Election Districts, we find that out of 1019 potential voters, 534 were returned as natives.¹ Accord-

¹ These figures were taken from the lists of the district captains, which were based on the returns of the State Census for 1905. We are inclined to believe that political considerations interfered with the scientific accuracy of this enumeration (as subsequent protests have evinced). The blocks chosen are typical of the section however; and so far as the figures are given, they do not effect the accuracy of our results.

TABLE IX

FOREIGN BORN HEADS OF FAMILIES. YEARS IN UNITED STATES. FEDERAL RETURNS, 1900

	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45+	Unknown	Totals
Irish	12	69	155	128	89	55	83	63	40	63	36	793
German	16	76	132	147	83	52	66	14	28	36	14	664
English and Welsh	4	24	25	21	18	7	16	9	3	5	2	134
Canada. { English.	1	2	2	3	1	1	2	.....	1	1	1	15
{ French. ....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	3	.....	.....	1	.....	1	7
French .....	.....	2	4	4	2	2	1	1	.....	1	2	19
Swiss .....	.....	5	20	15	9	2	1	2	1	1	..	56
Scandinavia and Denmark ..	4	7	26	16	4	4	1	1	.....	.....	1	63
Austria-Hungary & Bohemia ..	4	5	3	5	3	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	..	24
Scotch	3	9	22	9	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	56
Russian and Pole	2	11	12	6	2	2	.....	.....	.....	2	..	37
Italian	12	15	14	10	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	54
Other	4	1	8	7	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	..	26
Mixed .....	.....	3	4	1	3	1	2	.....	.....	.....	2	16
Total	62	229	428	372	228	135	172	90	75	111	62	1,964

ing to this same enumeration, 16,222 persons in the neighborhood were classed as citizens; 1701 as aliens. Massing the evidence from the preceding analyses (especially Tables VI, VIII, and IX), we should give as a conservative estimate, that from 70 to 80 per cent of the present population of Manhattanville is a comparatively recent social accretion. Probably less than the remaining 20 or 30 per cent is descended from earlier native residents of the locality. On this point, however, we shall have additional data to present when we consider the movements of the population. We must now proceed to describe more specifically the composition of the present group.

The primary classification of a social group is that according to age and sex, since these factors control the industrial and political efficiency of a population, as well as its fundamental ability to maintain and to increase its numbers. The composition of our neighborhood according to age periods for both sexes in 1905 is as follows: ¹

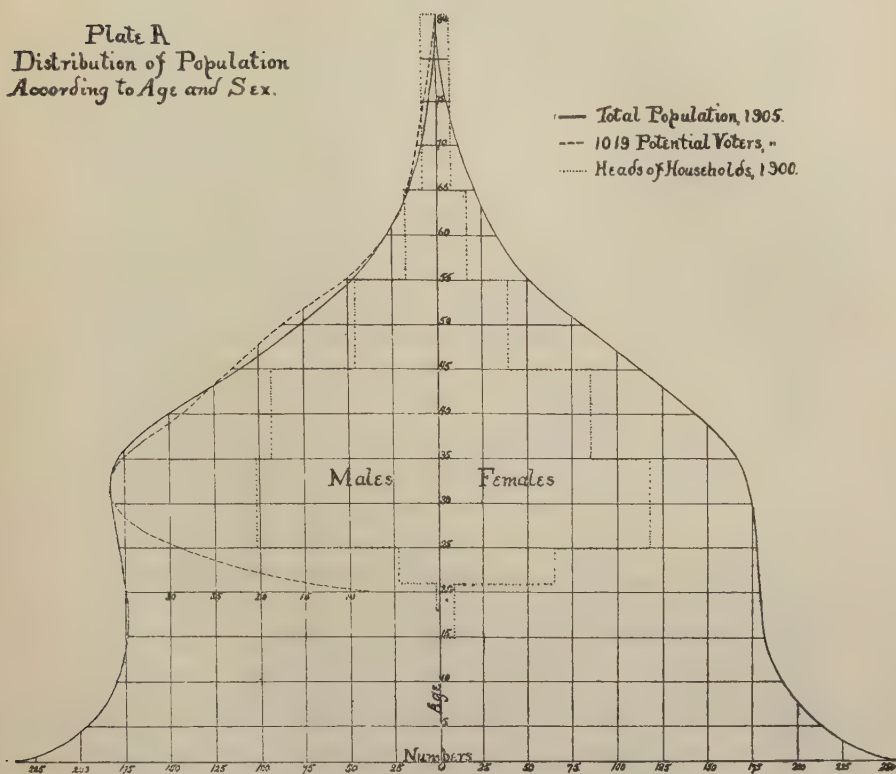
TABLE X
AGE AND SEX

	Under 1 year	1 to 5	5 to 20	20 to 45	45 to 65	Over 65	Total
Males...	226	822	2,583	4,571	846	84	9,132
Females.	249	893	2,774	4,323	955	150	9,344
Totals.	475	1,715	5,357	8,894	1,801	234	18,476

The accompanying plate presents graphically the dis-

¹ According to the enumeration of the Dept. of Health for 1905.

Plate A
Distribution of Population
According to Age and Sex.



tribution for all ages (Plate A). The solid line shows the resultant curve for interpolated values, on averages.¹ The dashed line is the smoothed curve for the ages of 1919 potential voters, given for each year. Since their number is about one-fifth of the total males over twenty, this line was plotted on a unit scale of ordinates, five times that of the rest of the figure. Its close conformity to the upper sweep of the calculated curve is evidence of

¹ For the operations involved, see Bowley, *Elements of Statistics*, chap. 10.

their mutual agreement with the facts. The dotted line represents the distribution by age periods of the heads of households in 1900.¹ All these lines strengthen and confirm our impression of the population. The group is composed principally of young working people between the ages of sixteen and forty-five. There are comparatively few old persons.² The upper limit for the three curves is between eighty-two and eighty-four. There are fewer males than females, and a considerably larger proportion of girls and old women than of males of like age. Only between twenty and forty-five do the men outnumber the women. The curves for males display a decided augmenting of numbers from sixteen to thirty-one years of age, marked by a well-defined mode at the latter point. This fact indicates that many young men come into the neighborhood in connection with their business. This is particularly true of the transportation interests. It might be thought that the proximity of Columbia and City College also effect this element. This surmise, however, we shall find is not correct, when we come to analyze the occupations of residents.

The significance of these facts of demotic composition will be brought out more clearly when we treat of vital tendencies, and under movements of the population. It is sufficient at this point to have defined quantitatively our analysis of these classes in our group, and to point out the three great interests that seem to control their existence. For it will be noted that the principal curves have three focal points that determine their character. These we may designate as the "health," "ambition" and "providence" centers. Our meaning will become plain if the reader will examine the main curve for males.

¹ Federal returns.

² *Cf.* Newsholm, *op. cit.*, chapters 14-15.

It will then be seen that the number of young boys tends to diminish with each additional year ; but that a counter tendency, represented by the focus of the lower part of the curve, seems to drag it back from its aberrant bent and to bring it up roundly to the years of youth. Then another attractive center appears to draw an increasing number into its orbit, and to swing them rapidly toward the dangerous pole of extinction. But here once more, a countervailing force checks the downward rush, and leads a slowly dwindling remnant into the quieter course of old age.

I have called these centers the "health," "ambition" and "providence" interests,¹ merely because these terms serve to indicate the influences that control the careers of individuals, and so the character of the population. It is first the ability to survive and develop that determines how many children shall grow to youth. —Hence it is "health" that decides the existence of the people. Then ambition to make his livelihood or to achieve a career draws the youth away from school and home into the fierce competition of the city's labor market. Here the pace is an exhausting one, and if prudence and foresight did not restrain the young man's efforts, he might be morally and physically enervated before he arrived at a ripe age. This dominating influence of vigorous manhood has, therefore, been called "ambition," because the word seems to express all those attractive forces that lead an individual or a people to expend themselves in the promotion of the world's business. But, finally, out of experience comes wisdom to save resources and to

¹ Although indebted to Professor Small for the general suggestion of "Health," "Wealth" and "Knowledge" interests, the writer would not caricature Dr. Small's system of thought by claiming that this partly symbolic use of terms is parallel to that of his former teacher.

provide for the future of oneself and others. So this last influence leads a man away from the mad rush of affairs and prepares him for the gradual slowing down of age.

Now if we compare the curves on the two sides of our helmet, we shall find that the girls are not quite so tenacious as the boys in their hold on life, nor later so eager to gather about crude industrial opportunities. Home life outlines a more even course of activity. But its quieter way brings the compensation of less rapid exhaustion. Either by personal or vicarious "providence" the average woman's life is prolonged beyond that of most men.

How this conception of focal interests applies to the entire population of a section, we may better perceive as we proceed to analyze its life. We must now see how the two sides of our figure are related, *i. e.*, the conjugal condition of the people.

For 1900 the marital relations of the heads of households were thus reported :

TABLE XI
CONJUGAL CONDITIONS. HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	Single	Married	Widowed	Sep- arated	Divorced	Un- known	Totals
Men ...	105	2,551	89	37	1	..	2,783
Women.	45	2,551	335	43	..	15	2,987
Total .	150	5,102	424	80	1	15	5,772

This represents that part of the population indicated by the dotted lines in Plate A. We have no means for

knowing the conjugal conditions of boarders, relatives or servants. Nor is there any exact data for 1905. Marriages cannot readily be reported according to locality. Hence this item is obviously incomplete. The figures simply indicate the relative proportions of single and wedded persons among those who have attained a certain degree of independence in the community; and shows the number of widowed, separated and divorced among those who have been married. Naturally the heads of households comprise most of the married people. Adding the number of couples to those reported as widowed or separated, we find that about 20 per cent of the population in 1900 had been married and were living in homes of their own. But we have no satisfactory statistics as to the rate or age of marriage. Our personal observation leads us to conclude that the majority of householders are young persons, who begin their conjugal career by renting a "small flat in Harlem." It will be noted also that the number of widows is comparatively large, over 11 per cent of the married women having lost their help-mates. These are mostly Irish women past middle age, whose husbands have died from exposure or injuries in their rough work. It will be seen, too, that the question of divorce is a negligible factor in this neighborhood. This is doubtless due to the fact that most of the people belong to the Catholic Church, which does not sanction this method of annulling marital ties. The considerable number of separated persons merely indicates married people not living at the time in company with their spouses. Some of the women whose status was not indicated were doubtless widows. We should further remark that the number of single men of marriageable age is considerably in excess of that for women between twenty and forty-five years of age. This fact, as already

remarked, is due to the presence of many young fellows who are engaged in the transportation interests that center here.

Having classified the population according to age, sex and marital condition, let us now see how it is composed in regard to national and ethnic stock. We have already indicated how successive waves of immigration set into the Hollow (see especially Tables VIII and IX). It yet remains to define the distribution of these elements according to nativity. The neighborhood is predominantly American. But it is mainly American of Irish and German extraction. Out of 3221 heads of households recorded in 1900, 1257 were native born. Of this number 1174 were married or had been. To these parents were registered 2198 children out of a total of 6501. So that about one-third of the population is from native families. The table on the following page presents in detail the various ethnic elements.

Teutonic and Celtic¹ stock preponderates, with a strain of Latin and Slavic blood. The Mediterranean peoples are represented by Italians, French and a handful of Greeks. Practically all of the Russians and Poles, as well as some Germans and Americans, are Jews, so that there is a small mixed Semitic element. But the Aryan type greatly outnumbers all others. The Negroes are practically the only exception to racial purity so far as color is concerned, the Chinese and Japanese being a negligible quantity.

On the whole, we should say that this is a fairly homogeneous group as city populations go. About 85 per cent of the people are descended from English-

¹ By Celtic stock is here meant the blending of the old Mediterranean and Alpine strains, best represented by Gaelic and Gallic varieties.

TABLE XII

NATIVITY, RACE AND ETHNIC STOCK. POPULATION, 1905

United States....	13,157		
Ireland	2,008		
Germany	1,684		
England.....	352		
Italy	273		
Russia	180		
Austro-Hungary.	155	Native Whites..	12,210
Scotland	105	Foreign Whites.	5,269
Scandinavia	93	Colored	997
France	88		
Poland	24		
Bohemia	19		
Greece	18		
China	13		
Japan	1		
Various	306		
Total.....	18,476		

Mixed 316
Negroes 983
Slavs 174
Russian Jews 204
Latins 361
Celts 2,113
Teutons 2,115

speaking ancestry. The only decided antipathy is that existing between the Irish and the Negroes. In regard to amalgamation, there are unfortunately no comprehensive statistics for our section. In 1900, fifty-six heads of households were reported as of mixed origin. Sixteen of this number were foreign born. Evidently entangling alliances were comparatively infrequent in the first generation. But this rule does not apply with the same force to those reared here. As a matter of observation, we are of the opinion that the ingratiating Irish lad is the best "mixer." Buxom German girls are rather generally sought in domestic partnership. It should be remembered too, that in this neighborhood, religious lines are not sharply defined. Most of the people, except the Negroes and Jews, tend toward Catholicism. Chromatic race intermixture is rare, except

for possible clandestine relations.¹ A few mulattoes and half-breeds are known to the writer.

¹ Upon this question of intermixture, the reader is referred to chapter 9 of F. A. Bushee's *Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston*. The data there presented confirms in general our own conclusion.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL TEMPER

WE now come to speak of the social temper of the local population. Let us first recall some of the formative influences at work in the development of the neighborhood. Most important from the physical side, has been the situation of Manhattanville. Tucked away between the hills, almost a mile from Haarlem and eight from Bowling Green, the Hollow Way was little noticed until the time of the Revolution. With the extension of Bloomingdale Road, the region gained a route of direct access from the city. Then the history of the village began. But its location always limited the development of the place. It became a small settlement on the stage line, and in the fifties acquired railway transportation. A few industries moved in. Still the village was more or less dependent upon the local economy of Harlem. When the first car lines and the elevated roads came north, they passed east of the cliffs that face that side of "New York's Transvaal." Only within the last five years has the subway made Manhattanville an easily accessible section of the metropolis.

The effects of this comparative seclusion for many years, established the economy of the village. It was a little community off the main thoroughfares. Its road-houses and post-office, its local court and streets with cottages, made it a small center in itself. Old residents tell how the people from the scattered houses on the

hills and the little farms along the road, used to go down to the stores in "The Village" for their supplies. The first Protestant church became a sort of missionary outpost. The Catholic leaders "went down to the City" to see the authorities about securing land for a place of worship for the foreign people settling in the valley. The convent and church schools were founded "in Manhattanville." So much for traditions. All this is passing rapidly. The avenues have cut through the old streets; the tenements are displacing the frame houses; the settlers are swallowed up in the city.

We have seen how successive waves of immigration broke over the hills: first Dutch, British-Americans and a few negro freemen, like an advancing spray; then two solid impacts of Irish and German workingmen that filled in the valley. These were succeeded by slighter accessions of British, French and Swiss artisans; following whom came Scandinavian and Slavic workers; and latterly a rising tide of Jewish merchants and Italian laborers. All the while this mixed current carried with it numbers of born New Yorkers from the lower city, and young people from nearby towns. This flow has brought elements and left a residuum, the character of which we must now attempt to analyze.

The Irish. First in importance among the social increments are the Irish. They numbered 2008 in 1905. Perhaps one-third of the present population (*i. e.*, about 6200 persons) is of Irish parentage. The original settlement was along Old Broadway and Byrd Street ("Pig Alley"). The greater number of "Macks" is still to be found in the northern end of Manhattanville, where their descendants constitute more than half the local inhabitants. They have overflowed into the tenements

along Amsterdam Avenue, across 125th Street and about the lower end of Convent Avenue. These households consist for the most part of married couples with their children, and also of a considerable number of young single men and women wage-earners. The workers were formerly engaged in rough labor and personal service, but of late there has been a decided tendency toward commercial lines and public offices.

The traits of the typical Irishman are well defined.¹ Physically he is rather slight and wiry. The local variety tends to brunetteness and blue-gray eyes. Motor reactions are apt to be prompt but intermittent. One of the favorite Irish games is handball. There were formerly two public courts in connection with saloons in our neighborhood.² Several well-spotted walls and fences bear witness to the cultivation of this pastime by the boys. The prowess of Irishmen in all sports requiring speed, energy and individual dexterity, is well known. The lads are doughty "scrappers" and ball-players. Their great weakness is a tendency to go to pieces under strain, and to become rather wild. A club leader's task is to restrain such boys under excitement, and to keep them together when discouraged. In their recreation the young people seek active diversion eagerly. The boys clamor for athletic games, and do not take kindly to lectures and set events where there is "nothing doing." As entertainment, dancing parties, dramatic recitations, farces and impromptu debates succeed best. Such activity is perhaps characteristic of most young people. But it is no uncommon sight to

¹For an admirable presentation, see Krans, *Irish Life in Irish Fiction*, with references. The writer is indebted to this analysis for its apt characterization of certain fundamental Irish qualities.

²One, by the River, has recently been turned into a stable.

see a married man come home with a bat over his shoulder, or a group of grizzled worthies discussing the merits of a local champion. There used to be a gang of young bucks from the Village and the Eighth Avenue settlement, who made the field next to City College their "hang-out." Here they would play and wrangle half the summer days, occasionally levying toll on outsiders, in the form of a ball or the price of a can of beer, for the privilege of using the diamond. There is a story that one stout leader was born under the bleachers, and seldom left, except in bad weather, to seek food.

The Irish in the large are impulsive, reckless and intensely sympathetic. In fact there is a certain noble scorn for a man who does not plunge into a fight or a revel without stopping to consider the consequences. When thoroughly aroused, an Irishman becomes a dangerous antagonist, although he is quick to recognize a worthy rival. He has a tendency to chafe under restraint, but responds loyally to kindly authority. The representative Irishman is light-hearted, quick-tempered, enthusiastic. His emotional nature is readily kindled; and if it does not burn with a constant flame, that is probably due to the ardor of its blaze. Charity visitors know that Irish families are wont to be generous and improvident to a marked degree.¹ As a people they are fond of festivity, of singing and dancing—of ballads rather than arias, of jigging more than minuets. The black Celt has a certain lyric quality that adds charm and fervor to his personal relations.² It is difficult to define such a nature in a word. The traditional tem-

¹ The records of the Riverside District show that the number of applications for aid from Irish families is considerably in excess of their proportion in the local population—in December, 1908, about 4 to 1.

² Cf. H. Driesman, *Das Keltentum*, *passim*.

peraments do not seem to apply exactly. At bottom, the nervous disposition is "*sthenic*."¹ This factor would probably identify many Irish with the choleric type,² although certain sanguine traits are marked. At all events, our Celtic neighbors are not phlegmatic.

Intellectually, the average Irishman is shrewd rather than critical; clever rather than consistent. He is curious to try a novelty, but not apt to fix his attention upon a complex problem for a long time. He is too open to suggestion and subject to emotions to make a uniformly good investigator, although he can "size up" a situation in a remarkably short time. In exemplification of these traits we may mention the avidity with which night-school pupils in such Irish neighborhoods select classes with interesting subjects of instruction, and the rapidity with which they tend to drop off when the "dead grind" begins to appear. Library returns show that our neighbors are fond of exciting tales and burlesque. Despite a certain love of variety however, the Irish are not fond of radical innovations. In fact they have a certain distrust of new and untried measures, and accept the assertions of a recognized authority with considerable docility. American conditions tend to increase a skeptical frame of mind; but at bottom there is much credulity in the Irish nature. The use of charms and relics is not unknown among our neighbors. A report spreads rapidly among such people, and is apt to become confirmed, unless it goes too much "agin' the grain." A man can gain an enviable reputation by a few clever performances, and by refraining from too constant trials of his powers. An acquaintance of the

¹ Cf. Manouvrier, *Jour. d. l'Inst. d'Anthro.*, vol. 8.

² Cf. Fouillée, *Tempérament et caractère*.

writer thus acquired considerable renown as an athlete among certain clubs by a well-timed exhibition of skill. The Irish, perhaps more than many other people, are not accustomed to test their judgments by objective facts, but reason rather from analogy. Not seldom they allow imagination to take the bit of evidence and bolt into desirable conclusions. This leads us finally to remark, that the peculiar raciness and whimsicality of fancy, called "Irish wit," is probably due rather to rapid and eccentric inference, than to profound and penetrating analysis. The evidence is—the spontaneity of the humor.

Some of the early Irish settlers in Manhattanville were forced to emigrate because of the difficulty of getting a living at home. But for the most part they came, led by the desire to improve their conditions. Not a few have attained positions of some social consideration; have raised their standard of living materially; and are now able to impress their will upon the actions of other men. Thus the mere struggle for existence has largely given place to the ambition to rise in the world and to achieve a reasonably complete mode of life. This development has had its effect upon Irish disposition and character. At first rather plain and unpretentious, the immigrants have readily adopted the standards of their new home, and have acquired a more sophisticated and complex attitude toward life. The more ambitious and persistent have risen rapidly, and have won their way to positions of influence in the community. Others have been caught in the subtleties of the city, and have become practically dependent upon social backing. In this respect the Irish do not differ essentially from most elements in the urban population, but they present perhaps more striking contrasts in the relative status of the

second generation. In general, the Irishman has succeeded best by following a leader, and by quickly accommodating his actions to the wishes of his constituents. He will on occasions strain a point to favor a friend, appeal to ancient loyalties and present partisan claims with rather more persuasive frankness than other men who may adopt practically the same methods. This ability to ingratiate himself, to "jolly the crowd," and to turn a pretty compliment, are amiable qualities, which the Irishman uses to good advantage. He is primarily an instigator.¹

The life of our neighborhood does not controvert the Hibernian reputation for conviviality. Our Celtic friends are fond of fun and the social glass. A majority of the saloons show names of Irish proprietors, who are well patronized by their compatriots. An Erse proverb has it, that "Contention is better than loneliness." Some of our neighbors illustrate the saying. When warmed by a drink, Pat waxes demonstrative, and will not scorn a fight if it comes his way.² He is perhaps overready to take the law into his own hands when provoked.³ His home may fall into some disorder when work is not steady, as not infrequently happens. But the Irishman is not dishonest; and his "women-folks" are by nature "straight and clean." A powerful restraint from serious offenses is exercised by the authority of the Catholic

¹ Cf. Giddings, *Inductive Sociology*, pp. 77-9. The definition of character in these sections is based upon the logical analysis presented in Professor Giddings' work.

² The records of the Harlem Magistrate's Court show that four out of twelve arrests on the charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct, made within the local precinct during four months last year, were of residents giving Ireland as their native home. May they never do worse!

³ Three out of twelve cases of assault for the same period.

Church. There is an undoubted tendency to boisterous mirth. But the Irish have few mean streaks. Roguery is the perversion of a fundamentally open nature. To sum up our estimate of the type of mind displayed, we may designate it as "Ideo-Emotional,"¹ active and adaptable.

These personal characteristics express themselves in rather well-defined social reactions. The latter can be fully described only by considering the life of the community as a whole. But the Irish form such an important factor in public activities, that an understanding of their modes of co-operation is essential to comprehend some forms of the local social economy. We refer here especially to a certain clanishness in Irish organizations. Perhaps the long historical development of comparatively isolated groups in subjection to paternal and feudal authority, may partly account for this trait.² It is undoubtedly true that parental control frequently assumes more vigorous forms than in American families. The Irish rear their children as well as they can, and expect them later to assume the burden of supporting the home. Many young women among our neighbors turn over their entire earnings to their mothers, and receive back a small amount for pin-money. The boys are rather more independent. The indignation and dismay of elderly parents when ambitious children and relatives will no longer contribute to their support, is both pathetic and illustrative of a transformation in domestic life.

This same allegiance to kith and kin is carried over into public life. Local and national ties are kept strong

¹ Cf. Giddings, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-7.

² Cf. Darbois de Jubainville, *La Famille celtique*.

by secret and open associations. An Irish newspaper has a small circulation in our neighborhood. Little groups will gather to dance and sing songs of the Old Country. Perhaps such manifestations may be considered sentimental, but they are neither trivial nor alarming. They reveal a native fondness for personal bonds, which goes far toward explaining the Irishman's tendencies in politics. He will ally himself with the organization that recognizes his needs and will attempt to satisfy the ambitions of his people. He is "agin' the government," merely as an impersonal instrument of repression. He will submit to an indefinite amount of bossing, if he is convinced that the tyrant has his welfare at heart. But if the system becomes inhumanely cold and oppressive, he will revolt. Such rebellions have been frequent in the political history of Manhattanville. The section has been a veritable thorn in the side of the Republican districts north and south of it. It has been moreover, the scene of many internal dissensions. The Irishman is a Democrat, and a good partisan. He will rally about a leader who will show interest in his personal affairs, and fight loyally for him. A stirring appeal, a clear slogan, will rouse his enthusiasm to a white heat. This may not be far-sighted conduct, but it is intensely human. Such an interpretation of the nature of Tammany Hall's most important constituency, may explain the success of its methods. A reform movement may preach economy and abstract justice with little effect, if it does not actually touch the people. And many of our people are Irish.

The Irish are Catholics, traditionally and conscientiously. It is not too much to say that they are the best church-people in our section. That is, formally or with devotion, they pay respect to the ordinances of their

congregation. Young men will sometimes rise at six to attend mass before going off for a Sunday tramp or a game of base-ball. The Irish are impressed by the power of the church and the pomp of its celebrations. They enjoy the relief it offers to their restless imagination. If the priest be a man of sympathy and ability, he becomes an object of admiration. Indeed he may share a place with the other idols of the people—the successful athlete and the influential politician.

The Germans are in many ways a striking contrast to the Irish. Led to emigrate by the political disturbances of 1848, the former sought homes here with freer conditions. The first lot were Bavarians. They settled in cottages along old willow-bordered Lawrence Street. This section is still the German center. But many of those who have come within the last twenty-five years have spread up Amsterdam Avenue, where their names adorn the signs of most of the grocery and provision stores. The late comers include many North Germans and *Rheinlanders*, and the economic tempo of the colony has been notably briskened. In 1905 the German-born in Manhattanville numbered 1684—about 9 per cent of the local population. Perhaps 3800 persons are of German parentage.

As known to us, the German type is rather mixed. Both blondes and brunettes appear, but the latter seem to prevail. Perhaps brown hair and blue or hazel eyes best represent the mean.¹ In stature, our Teutonic friends are rather stocky, but appear under the height of the average American.² Their reactions are slow and

¹ Such points are easily observed by carefully noting the appearance of crowds of school children and church-goers when dismissed.

² To this point there are many exceptions.

strong. The writer can recollect few first-rate German pitchers or basket-ball forwards in any of the local clubs with which he has been connected. The boys make better gymnasts than athletes. It is difficult to name any characteristic German sport, unless it be *Turnen* or *Kneipen*. Music is perhaps the most popular diversion, preferably in the form of choral singing or orchestral societies. A good lecture is heard with satisfaction. Costume parties are also much enjoyed. The German is constitutionally less restless than the Irish or American, and is content with a picnic in the park or a quiet evening of pinochle, such as would seem rather tame to the latter. But one feature of the entertainment should not be forgotten—cakes and beer. With this basis of discussion, *Mein Herr* can produce enough material for consideration from his inner consciousness.

The German is concentric and intensive.¹ He has a rich emotional life that suffuses much of his thinking. It is because of this subjective element that most relations acquire for him strong personal connotations (which process he often endeavors to explain in general terms). Perhaps we have here the constitutional basis for German idealism. However that may be, it is plain to one who has lived with Germans, that their feelings when aroused, continue to glow like a smouldering coal. Their sympathies are rather quick and lasting. They do not soon forget a favor or an injury, although it may not be mentioned. They are apt to be prudent and thrifty, but not seldom have a stubborn bias towards some preferred course of action. Such a temperament would ordinarily be termed phlegmatic. *Gemüthlichkeit* is a characteristic trait of German life.

¹ Cf. Hans Meyer, *Das deutsche Volkstum*, p. 12, *et seq.* This analysis has furnished the writer several mental hooks on which to hang his observations.

"It takes a Dootchman a long while to make up his mind; and whin he has done so, it takes longer to get the notion out uv 'is head." This judgment states the impression made upon a Celtic neighbor by the German intellect. It is true that German thought is more *grundlich* than many other types. Its slow but comprehensive movement makes for system and care in detail. It is fundamentally honest, even to the point of *Grubelei*. Doubtless the German method of life, and the language itself, demands synthetic thinking.¹ This trait may explain why Germans at times appear dull and heavy. They have not the simple logic of the English, nor the lively imagination of the Celt. Their realm of ideas is more involved and mysterious. Hence they are not witty, but broadly humorous, or *komisch*. It must not be supposed however, that our Teutonic friends are all philosophers. It is rather a fund of sound common-sense that carries most of them through. They simply are not easily borne off their feet by contagious example. A minority have developed this critical independence to the point of scepticism, and announce themselves as Freethinkers and Socialists. But with this reflective tendency goes an almost childlike enjoyment of simple emotional and intellectual pleasures, like the joys of a summer garden or the satisfaction *einen guten Roman zu lesen*. In fact this element of personal sentiment colors even abstract thinking, and makes a man's views as much a part of himself as his more material possessions. For this reason it is sometimes difficult to win the confidence of the German whose traditions and loyalties one does not share.

In his way of going at things also, the German shows a complex nature. On the one hand, he has a desire to

¹ Cf. Meyer, *loc. cit.*

"eat things up," *i. e.*, to overmaster, consume and assimilate the best in a situation. On the other hand, with admirable self-mastery, he proceeds by indirect methods to comprehend and control the fundamental conditions. He is, as a rule, patient and industrious, temperate and provident. But at times an extravagant fancy may lead him to leave all and follow his desire. *Also kommen Wanderung und Bummelei.* These are but striking instances of the eternal conflict between impulse and idea. On the whole, however, the German is remarkably steady and level-headed. He has, moreover, a fair sense of proportion. If music and sandwiches are reasonable, he will have them both together. If the entertainment is expensive, he will wear his black coat with prim precision. The German is thus a mixture of sense and sensibility. That is, convivial and conscientious traits blend in him, without much obtrusion of the Puritanic virtues. Occasionally, however, this negative form of righteousness appears in an insistence on social conventions. This is illustrated by the case of a German neighbor, who remonstrated with a country-woman on the neglected condition of the latter's children. "Not dat I care so much dat dey are dirty, but to go wit'out shoes on *Sunday!*" Despite such logical inversions, the Germans have an ability for speculation. Our neighbors are fond of reading and friendly discussion. If a man confronts you with an allusion to philosophy or economics, five chances to one he is a Jew or a German. To summarize these impressions, we may characterize the German type of mind as *rationally-sentimental*.¹

¹This term is used to distinguish the type from Professor Giddings' "Ideo-Emotional" class. Although the same fundamental elements are involved (EIM), their characteristic variants are differently combined, comprising certain features of the "Critical-Intellectual" variety. See *Inductive Sociology*, pp. 85-89.

In a few households with which the writer is acquainted, the older members do not speak nor read English. In many, German is the ordinary medium of conversation between the "grown-ups." Frequently the children are taught to understand the mother-tongue, but are generally loath to use it. Five German newspapers have general circulation in our neighborhood. Two of these may be characterized as popular and newsy; the others, as domestic, commercial and socialistic, respectively. From the rather uncertain returns of local newsdealers, we conclude that the popular type of paper outsells the other, followed by the family sheet "*mit hochinteressanten Romanen.*" The business *Zeitung* is consulted much by those in search of positions; the socialistic one by those who have adopted more radical tenets. The small collection of German stories in the Speyer School Library has been thoroughly read by elder members of the local settlement. This fact of the wide persistence of the language shows a high degree of social energy on the part of the Germans. For though most of them can use English satisfactorily for transacting their affairs, they wish to maintain the associations of the Fatherland.

This brings us finally to consider one more characteristic of the German. Although he prizes freedom, as citizen he is essentially *ein Gesellschaftsglied*.¹ That is, while he insists upon a large measure of personal liberty, he is not fundamentally independent. He enters American public life as a political refugee from a small European state. He is a communicant in one of two great congregations, or perhaps a member of a small circle of Free-thinkers. He is identified with a certain trade and

¹ Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*

represents a definite class in society. Thus we have seen our neighbors appear as Bavarian Catholic workmen or Lutheran merchants from Prussia. American life has broken up these early stratifications. But still they appear as the historic basis in German social life. The *Burgher* respects authority, and recognises gradations in society. He is not essentially democratic, but inclines to be a bureaucrat. This is shown by a certain touchiness when he is among strangers, and an equal assurance in his attitude toward those he can command. A German overseer expects his men to toe the mark; and a *Hausfrau* is exacting, though kindly to her maid. This general attitude may explain certain positions of Germans in social matters. They are apt to be rather strict conservatives or thorough-going reconstructionists. Both tendencies are probably due to the fundamental satisfaction in system and regulation.

The English supply the connecting link between European life and American economy. This is true both historically and ethnologically. We have seen how the early development of Manhattanville was affected by conditions arising out of the Revolution. Many early landholders in this section were of British descent and traditions.¹ But subsequent growth left this line of transmission and gained other characteristics, some of which we have just been attempting to analyze. Still a considerable English element has filtered in. In 1900, 134 heads of households were so registered; and in 1905, 352 English persons were numbered. We may say, therefore, that at the present time approximately 750 people in our neighborhood are of English parentage.

¹ Cf. p. 23 *supra*.

Unlike the Irish and German colonists, the English did not come in great numbers at one time and settle in a definite section. It would be difficult to designate any part of our neighborhood as the British region. These people are scattered in the moderately good houses along middle Amsterdam Avenue and on 125th Street. Most of them came over twenty-five years ago. Some were interested in the iron-furnace that was formerly at the River and 143rd Street; but the majority seem to have drifted in with the ordinary flow of population.

English traits are, in a sense, mediating expressions between those Celtic and Teutonic characteristics that we have considered, and the American qualities that must presently be discussed.¹ The traditional Englishman is tall, square-shouldered and sandy. To this description there are many exceptions, according to the region from which our Briton comes. But in general, we may regard the characterization as apt. Height is not so noticeable;² but there is a certain clean blocking-out of the Englishman's frame, that indicates activity and strength.³ The rosy, smooth-skinned variety is not so evident here as in better surroundings. The English youth is vigorous and adventurous, fond of athletic

¹For general treatment, Demolins' *Anglo-Saxon Superiority*, Boutmy's *English People* and Gorren's *Anglo-Saxons and Others*, may be mentioned. The analysis of the latter is here adopted so far as it applies to local conditions.

²The writer must explain, that in estimating the stature of these people, he may have a tendency to understate impressions; since he is somewhat above average height himself, and leans toward judging by the level of his own eyes. In what follows on measurements of children, however, there is objective basis for this opinion.

³Such statements are based upon observation in the Speyer School gymnasium and baths, where registrations of members' parentage, etc., are also kept.

games, and a good "stayer" in such sports as soccer foot-ball and distance running.

Emotionally, the Englishman is more self-possessed than the Irish or American. This gives him greater evenness in performance, if not such brilliant bursts. His temperament is mixed, characterized by a fairly prompt and steady reaction. Intellectually, the Englishman is marked by the direct and practical turn of his thought. He has little taste for subtlety and abstraction; but reasons straight from the facts to his conclusion, without much criticism of premises.¹ If the hypothesis works—all right! There is a sturdy independence in such belief, that asks not confirmation, but conformity.

The Saxon is fond of good things, and proceeds with great energy to obtain them for himself. He likes to dominate the situation, and admires vigor in others. The type with which the writer is best acquainted is hard-working and self-controlled. There is a less stalwart variety however, of more convivial habits, whose career is not marked by consistent progress. But at bottom, the English character is straightforward and honest, willing to accept a given situation and work it out practically. Gorren also notes a "clean, stiff modesty and moral shamefacedness,"² which we may attribute to our more representative neighbors. Such a nature is both forceful and conscientious. We may characterize the type of mind as *dogmatic-motor*.³

¹ Cf. Boutmy, *op. cit.*, pt. i, ch. 3.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

³ Again with apologies to Professor Giddings, in order to distinguish this type—ideally "IME"—from the lower "Ideo-Motor;" and to imply an intellectual element, not properly "Critical." Compare *Inductive Sociology*, p. 86. Our present purpose is not to attempt the quantitative division of national groups into standard classes—for which we have not data sufficiently exact and comprehensive. It is rather to

Socially, the Englishman is an individualist. That is, he is essentially independent and self-centered, and tends toward insularity in his intercourse.¹ He is not a "good mixer," but tends to maintain a certain aloofness from the other races and different social classes. As an example of this attitude, we may mention the remark of a member of the Mother's Club, to the effect that the conduct of certain children reflected directly the inferior character of their hard-working parents, who happen to be Irish. Those who have been engaged in settlement work will recognize "a certain condescension" on the part of English residents—especially University men—in their intercourse with the people. In illustration of this same attitude from a different point of view, the writer may cite a story told him by a working man, who had occasion to call at a fashionable residence. Misled by his neat appearance, the new boy showed him to the reception room and announced him as "a gentleman." The man was amused at the incident and said, "When I got 'ome, I told the Missus, 'Go 'way! I'm associatin' with swells now.'"

This same lack of broad sympathy may explain the corporate ethics of the English. They are accustomed to regard collective agencies as existing essentially for the promotion of personal interests. So long as these are realized, the form of control does not much matter.

characterize each type as accurately as possible, so as to present it as a more or less definite factor in the total population. The procedure is comparable to that of making a composite picture from representative portraits of members of a class or inhabitants of a province. The result is not an accurate depiction of the national ideal, nor of any single individual. But it does convey a reasonably distinct impression of the traits of the local ethnic varieties. Perhaps this is as far as Descriptive Sociology may venture without seeking the precision of Statistics.

¹ Cf. Bushée, *Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston*, p. 153.

But when individual rights are trenched upon, the principle must be altered. On the other hand, because the practical imagination does not readily interpret the feelings of different sorts of men, the successful policy may be pushed to cruel lengths. Thus we observe the ruthless efficiency of English colonial administration in the East. The Manchester philosophy only gradually yields to larger ideals of coöperation. The Englishman has trusted rather to shaping the situation, than to persuading men. The social units are assumed to be more or less established in their various capacities, though having the inalienable right to improve their condition, if possible. On the whole, men are elements to be arranged and combined, instead of enlarged and blended. This essentially common-sense view of social life is rather characteristic of English thought in general; and has to a great extent tempered American economy, especially in the great commercial centers of the East. Even Manhattanville has not escaped the *Tendenz*, and is rapidly acquiring a more imperialistic point of view.

The Scotch and Scandinavians need not detain us long. The former numbered 56 households in 1900, and 105 individuals in 1905. Perhaps 250 persons in our neighborhood are of Scottish-born parentage. Although the stock is of recent introduction as compared with those already treated, a dozen families were reported in 1900 with native-born heads of Scotch origin. These people are scattered through the houses belonging to the period of the nineties along 125th Street and upper Amsterdam Avenue. Many of the men are engaged in the building and mechanical trades.

This strain is an ethnic link between the western Celts and the northern Teutons. Their long, lean, angular

frames, high cheek-bones, sandy-brown hair and grey or hazel eyes, give them a closer resemblance to the typical American stock than any other.¹ Their reactions, so far as observed, are rather slow but persistent.² A native tendency to emotion has been tempered by northern phlegm, so that the Scot at first seems rather *dour*.³ There is, however, a dry humor and moist conviviality among this people. The Scotch are proverbially canny, but somewhat inclined to be narrow and suspicious. Their views are based upon personal conviction, and their reasoning is more logical than original. They are as a rule, thrifty and honest, not without a tendency to be "a little nigh." Yet with all his ability for self-denial, the Scot is noted for hospitality. Such a character would be classed as "Austere," and the type of mind as "Dogmatic Emotional."⁴ This nature leads the Scotch to be Protestants and Independents. They do not appear distinctly as a political or religious unit in our neighborhood, however, but are absorbed in the general life of the community. Traditionally, they are loyal to the clan or congregation; but are capable of wider allegiances, because of their intellectual grasp.

The Scandinavians are our most remote Teutonic relatives. They have not lived in this neighborhood in numbers for longer than twenty years. Only one native-born head of a household from this stock was reported in 1900. At that time there were 63 families with Scandinavian parents; and in 1905, there were re-

¹ Cf. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish*, vol. i, pp. 170-3. The writer is indebted to this work for several apt characterizations.

² Such statements are based upon general observation of street life and visiting. The Scotch element is not numerous enough to appear strongly in local social clubs.

³ Cf. Hanna, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁴ Cf. Giddings, *loc. cit.*

corded 93 persons born in these countries. Perhaps 200 would cover the present number of people from such parentage. These are mostly Swedes. The families are widely scattered. The men are engaged mainly in the building trades.

The Scandinavian type is well marked¹—tall, fair and energetic. Slow but sure, courageous and terrible in anger, with a tinge of melancholy and a strange contradiction in his naturally strong will, the Northman is a mighty toiler and a sturdy individual. To a simple and straightforward nature is added a wild sense of romance, which often makes the Scandinavian a mystery to more subtle minds. He is industrious and frugal; less ambitious than the American perhaps, less pushing than the English. But he works out his purpose, and establishes his personality in freedom. Drink is a strong enemy to some. The better sort would be called "Conscientious" and "Intellectual," with certain "Forceful" and "Emotional" traits well marked.²

These characteristics differ, of course, with the variety of Scandinavians represented. The southern Swedes, because of industrial development, are shrewd and cosmopolitan. They have been called "The Germans of the North."³ The northern Swedes are more aristocratic and conservative. Because of their social graces they have been called "The Frenchmen of the North." The Norwegians are considered colder and more radical than either. Hence they have been dubbed "The Englishmen of the North." The Danes have also been com-

¹ Cf. O. N. Nelson, *History of Scandinavians in the United States*, vol. i, ch. i.

² Cf. Giddings, *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

pared with the English, but are said to show marks of continental modes.¹

As citizens, Scandinavians are quickly naturalized and assimilated. They are remarkably well educated, and take an active part in American life. Although traditionally conservative in political matters, the few individuals personally known to the writer are active Socialists.

French and Swiss. A word must be added concerning the French and the Swiss. It will be remembered that the former outnumbered other nationalities in the first enumeration of Haarlem;² and ever since there have been a few Frenchmen drifting in from over-seas and Canada. In 1900, twelve households were noted with native-born heads of French parentage, and 19 such foreign-born. In 1905, eighty-eight individuals were reported. The stock does not increase rapidly.³ Aside from the fact that a French paper has a very restricted circulation in the south-western part of Manhattanville, one would scarcely know that we have Gallic neighbors here. An extended description of French traits is, therefore, unnecessary.⁴

Suffice to say, that as a people the French are quick, vivacious, impressionable and emotional by nature; logical and æsthetic in their way of thinking; both imitative and erratic in their action, showing less inhibition than the English or Germans. They are prevailingly instiga-

¹ Cf. J. Brochner, *Danish Life*, pp. 3-7.

² Cf. p. 17, *supra*.

³ Seven out of 19 families had no children in 1900.

⁴ The reader may refer to Fouillée, *Psychologie du peuple française* and *La France au point de vue moral*; also Brownell, *French Traits*.

tive and even original in disposition, convivial in character and "Ideo-Emotional" in type of mind.¹ These Celtic qualities we have already met in the Irish. But the French have developed them with more polish and southern grace. Like all their ethnic *confrères*, the French are intensely social. They possess also the Latin quality of objectiveness and breadth, which enables them to comprise many interests within the scope of their intercourse. They are traditionally clever in the management of details, and often show a genius for systematization; so that French economy has a certain elegance and symmetry often lacking in Teutonic schemes. The better class of women are worthy helpmates in thrift, and add much of grace and dignity to the home.

The Swiss arrived later than the French. In 1900 there were only 2 native-born parents of this nationality recorded, and 56 households with foreign-born heads. At that time 132 persons of the second generation were registered. In 1905, persons of Swiss birth were not separately recorded. We may estimate, however, that fully 200 people of Helvetian parentage are to be found in Manhattanville. Many of the immigrants came about twenty-five years ago, seeking industrial opportunities. Numbers of these are still to be found in the silk-mills.

Although of comparatively pure racial stock, the Swiss themselves show considerable variation.² Those with whom we have to deal are mostly German-speaking artisans from the northern cities—Zurich and Basel. These men are mostly dark and stocky. To the proverbial Alpine qualities of steadiness, reflectiveness, industry, thrift, love of home and political independence, these

¹ Cf. Giddings, *loc. cit.*

² Cf. Berlepsch, *Schweizerkunde*, p. 542, *et seq.*

workers add readier imitateness, wider speculative thinking, greater ambition and more radical social tendencies than are characteristic of the average man of the mountains. Their tastes however are simple; their desires reasonable; and their conduct, as a rule, exemplary. Although some friends of the writer lean toward a decidedly progressive type of thought on matters of religion and politics, they come at it in a quiet and reasonable way, and hold it tenaciously, but without aggressiveness. Some time ago a small body of silk-weavers attempted to establish a co-operative scheme of production, and struggled manfully until frozen out by the large manufacturers. This type of mind may properly be called "Intellectual."¹

We have now sketched the characteristics of what may be called the naturalized sub-races. That is, these people and their immediate descendants constitute about five-eighths of the present population of Manhattanville. Some of them have been represented here since the beginnings of the village, and all of them have been in the country for one or two generations. These are the strains from which our so-called American stock is mainly derived. They are the peoples who have added most directly to our civilization, and are most readily assimilated in our social institutions. Their children are native, and except for certain home traditions, are as American in spirit as most Yankees. We have then, in a way, already defined the leading elements in our own original stock, and outlined certain features of the resultant American character. In presenting these national types we have attempted, in a rough way, to lay as much

¹ Cf. Giddings, *loc. cit.*

emphasis upon each in elaborating its distinctive traits, as the relative weight of its numbers contributes to the local population. Whether or not the method has been successful, taking these impressions together, we have now a sort of composite photograph as the basis for delineating the native type. We must next retouch this adumbration, so as to bring out certain marked features, and then proceed to add whatever further elements require description.

The Native White American is perhaps more difficult to define than any other national type. This is so, because the type itself is composite, and varies with the locality. Most people probably have in mind the traditional Yankee or native of the Middle West, when "The American" is mentioned. Accordingly our representative is portrayed as a tall, gaunt figure, with angular, sallow features and sharp grey eyes. He is traditionally prompt and persistent in his activities; serious and practical in his thoughts; with strong revulsions of emotion. He is ambitious, ingenious and adaptable; often rather streaky and inconsistent in character; but genuine and generous withal. Though not noted for the subtler qualities, the "American" is shrewd in reasoning and firm in his belief. He is above all a money-maker and an organizer. Freedom is the breath of his nostrils, but opinion forms the atmosphere in which he lives.

Such a cartoon of national characteristics is familiar to readers of American critics.¹ The picture presents certain features of truth; but the sketch must be modified to suit various conditions. The elements recognized in such a composition are the enterprising qualities of the

¹ Cf. John Graham Brooks, *As Others See Us*.

Anglo-Saxon enlivened by the blood of the Celt and given scope amidst the resources of a new continent. The "American" as a fixed type of man is not yet established; but American modes of life and thought are discernible in various communities. Let us try to define some of those in Manhattanville.

First we must note the size of the native population. In 1905 there were registered 13,157 native-born persons, of whom 12,210 were white, *i. e.*, about two-thirds of the inhabitants. But a comparison of these figures with those already given will show that fully two-thirds of this number are the descendants of foreign parents. In 1900, out of 1257 native-born heads of households, 704 were of foreign parentage; and 4303 out of 6501 children were so registered. Of the remaining 2198 children, only 595 had native white grandparents. So that although approximately 30 per cent of the local population is of native origin, only about 10 per cent is of native stock; the other 20 per cent being composed of Irish, German, English, Scotch, Scandinavian, French and Swiss descendants, in the proportions already estimated. How these people came into the neighborhood has been told in part. The local currents will be indicated when we speak of movements of the population.

We should expect the city man to be less massive and more nervous than the rural type. This is probably true of New Yorkers as a whole, and is apparently the case with our neighbors in Manhattanville. In dealing with physical statistics later, we shall have certain evidence to present upon this point. Here, however, the generalization may be made with some confidence, as the result of observation. The large Celtic element seems to give a rather dapper cast, not counteracted by the more ponderous Teutonic strain. Although not remarkable for rest-

lessness as city populations go, even this comparatively quiet neighborhood shows marks of urban stimulation. Whenever the ambulance or the fire-engine dashes down the hill, heads come out of the windows and men step from the stores to watch, while boys follow so far as reasonable effort promises present participation in the "doings." The roar of the subway trains as they burst from the hill and rumble overhead to plunge again into the tunnel, furnishes ample distraction for the residents on Broadway. The switching of car lines, the current of draying from the docks, the struggles of teams with heavy loads on the steep slopes, supply an undertone of city traffic to the neighborhood. The writer has noted the vibration of tall buildings in the Hollow, under stress of passing vehicles, by the rattling of a lamp shade and the oscillation of reflected light beams. If brick and mortar show the strain, we should expect men's bodies to register the pulse of the town. And they do. This is the first characteristic of American urban life—a rapid, almost irritable nervous action.

Perhaps this tendency is more marked in the diversions of our neighbors, for at such times the mind throws off its formal habit and adopts a comfortable negligence. Coasting down the hills on roller-skates or improvised wagons is great fun for the young children. Base ball is easily first among the sports for boys, and skipping games for girls. Dancing parties are most popular among young people, cards and the theater with their elders. There is some playing with dice and gambling on the races, especially by younger men. Three pool rooms, three bowling alleys, and a school gymnasium are within the section. But most of the places of amusement are on 125th Street. It is Harlem's center for shopping and gay relaxation. There are four theaters

on or near this thoroughfare, and ten picture shows between Third and Eighth Avenues; half-a-dozen "casinos," "gardens" and "cafes," supplied with music and other attractions; three dancing academies offering "public receptions;" several lodge rooms and assembly halls, and numerous saloons. True these do not all minister to the people of Manhattanville, but they show rather plainly certain tendencies in the region of which our neighborhood is becoming more vitally a part. The features that strike one in walking across town at night are, first, the large number of young people on the street; and secondly, the cheap quality of the amusements they patronize. The vaudeville habit of mind seems to characterize Harlem's coming generation. "Amateur Night," which a local burlesque house offers weekly as a choice bit, is perhaps as brutalizing in its effects on spectators and performers as any thing that can be imagined. A discussion of such matters, however, is scarcely in place here.

Within our section is one theater with a seating capacity of 1850 persons. It aims to bring some of the Broadway successes up-town for a week, and thus presents a goodly diversified program. Across the street is an open dance hall, with a bar and dining rooms. Some of the writer's young friends have dropped significant remarks as to the character of festivities there conducted. From observation, we should consider it an undesirable resort for making acquaintances. It is rather surprising to see a number of Hebrew girls about the place. This reminds us of a new element that is pressing toward Manhattanville.

Strictly within our parish, public amusements are few and primitive. For the men, no recreation compares with that furnished by the saloon. In June, 1905, there

were fifty such places—one for every 370 residents, or better, one for every 110 men. By October, 1908, twelve bar rooms had been added, and four had been closed. The latter were mostly in improvised Raines' Law hotels. Evidently our German-Irish neighborhood has not been affected by the temperance wave. The presence of a large and growing brewery stimulates the traffic in liquor. Our neighbors are accustomed to drinking, and are fond of "rushing the can." The location of the saloons shows, however, that they are not all sustained by local patronage. Their strategic situation along the main thoroughfares, about transfer points, and on conspicuous corners in general, displays an admirable understanding of human susceptibility. A few places have added attractions, such as a hand-ball court, a pool-table or a "social room." But aside from the lure of a small free lunch, most of them are plain drinking resorts, with only such diversion as the customers afford each other. Some bars have a special coterie of patrons, united by national, professional or social bonds. Thus two saloons on Lawrence Street have almost exclusively German customers; two others cater to the negro trade. Those on Twelfth Avenue and middle Broadway are much patronized by shippers and drivers. But the acme of social assimilation is reached by the saloon as a political center. One local leader regularly announces the annual winter ball and summer chowder party. His saloon seems always to be placarded without and cluttered within by staunch adherents. The assembly halls that three places possess, make them natural rallying points for political discussion.

Such instillation of the social spirit not infrequently results in disorder. This, *i. e.*, disorder, is technically the most common complaint made against our compatriots

in the local police court.¹ The patrolmen in this precinct, however, give the neighborhood as a whole a good record, with the exception that a certain amount of petty thieving has been noted. The presence of large receiving stations and yards along the river; the existence of many small candy and grocery stores, often run by irascible old persons or foreigners; and the arrangement of tenements, with roofs and fire-escapes in common, seem to offer opportunities for dexterity in "swiping," enjoyed by the young American. Fourteen out of seventeen offenses of larceny, burglary and receiving stolen goods, noted last year, were charged to native whites; and more than half of these were under twenty-five years of age. A small amount of drunkenness, five cases of assault and some violation of city ordinances were scored against natives in the period referred to. Evidently our fellow countrymen are not violent; but they appear somewhat demonstrative, and are not always careful about the acquisition of property. The wife of a street-car conductor was overheard telling a friend about an acquaintance accused of "knocking down" fares. "Five dollars a day!" she exclaimed. "What did the man want? I always told my husband that a dollar was plenty." We do not cite such gossip as typical of our neighbors' honesty, but merely mention it as indicative of a native tendency to "beat the corporation if you can."

It must be understood, that in describing the people of Manhattanville, we are not dealing with what is ordinarily termed "a slum population." Some of our neighbors are poor, a few are disorderly, but the majority are self-respecting working people. As such they are as

¹ Based upon examination of records for arrests and charges against residents of Manhattanville during 19 weeks in 1908.

much interested in the local schools and churches as the average city population.

So far as religious influence is concerned, the Catholic Church is unquestionably the most important factor. The congregations of Annunciation and St. Joseph's, their parochial schools and the Convent, comprise almost 12,000 people.¹ Not all of these are in Manhattanville, however. The bounds of both parishes extend beyond the limits of the village; and the Convent has little or no connection with the neighborhood, except through the schools.² We should estimate that fully 5,000 people from our section are members of these churches. Within the last three years a new parish has been established on the southern hill, taking in three blocks of our territory. Evidently the Roman Church has a numerous constituency here. Annunciation has moved to a fine new building on Convent Avenue. The parochial system seems to yield the best results among such a mixed people. It furnishes a common basis upon which natives, Irish, Germans, Italians and even negroes can enter. It goes without saying that the great majority of zealous Catholics are of Irish parentage. About 500 Germans and perhaps 100 Italians complete the membership. It must be confessed that the adherence of some of the native-born to the mother Church is somewhat a matter of formal tradition. That is, many wish to have their children confirmed in the Roman faith, and desire the last rites of that congregation. But aside from an occasional mass on high feast days, their participation in church work is not very active.

¹ For the data on the Catholic congregations the writer is indebted to his friend Mr. W. B. Hogan, who secured them through the courtesy of Pastor Huntman and Fr. McCahill.

² Nuns of the Sacred Heart are a cloistered order.

St. Mary's Episcopal Church has fewer communicants than her Catholic neighbors. On November 1st, 1908, 396 persons were numbered, and 406 members of the Sunday School.¹ Many of these live beyond the boundaries of this section. The long and honorable history of this first congregation in Manhattanville has been mainly that of a missionary station.² The pastors have always been busy christening babies, visiting the sick and burying the dead. The church early adopted the "free-pew" system, and has become a "workingman's congregation." It is a place of meeting for some natives living in this vicinity, for a few British settlers, and for the German Protestants who do not regularly attend the Lutheran churches in this region. Some of our neighbors go to the nearby Presbyterian church, and a few to other Evangelical congregations in Harlem and further down town. But on investigation, we discover a great number of unchurched Americans and foreigners hidden away in the unstable homes of the tenements. How many such there may be, is uncertain—several thousand at least. Here is a problem for the social worker who believes that our national life is buttressed by the Church and the School.

There are two public primary schools, three parochial and one private institution within our bounds. To these we might add Manhattan College and the Convent of the Sacred Heart; but these have little direct connection with the neighborhood. The first five schools accommodate about 7000 young people, of whom perhaps 5000 live within our section.³ The character of the instruc-

¹ Parish report by Rev. Mr. Hulse.

² Cf. *supra*, pp. 23-4.

³ The School Census of 1906 gave 4,641 children between five and eighteen years of age for these blocks.

tion given cannot here be analyzed, save in so far as this appears to react upon the disposition of the child, and thus hastens or retards social assimilation. The type of education furnished by our city schools is too well known to require more than hasty characterization. In dealing with such large numbers (often sixty in a grade), progress can be judged only by results. Accordingly the child is urged to comply with tests in a somewhat mechanical way. Since distinction can be won only by strenuous competition, a rather narrow idea of personal success is encouraged. Furthermore, discipline appears to have a certain autocratic and repressive quality, which does not always lead to rational self-control. The writer has found public school boys very submissive in the presence of authority, but decidedly unsteady when left alone. Perhaps we can discover in these qualities developed in school, the origin of certain American tendencies to superficiality, intense individualism and spasmodic public virtue.

The parochial schools lay more emphasis upon formal discipline and routine work. A Brother related with pride, that his boys were considered the best penmen and spellers that apply at a certain office. The writer was somewhat nonplussed on visiting a girls' school, to behold sixty little maids arise and courtsey as one person, and then proceed to recite in unison an elecutionary selection interpreted with identical gestures and inflections. If the Catholic schools teach fewer subjects, they generally drill more thoroughly in the "Three R's." There is a tendency, however, for children to leave the parochial schools when they have made their first communion, and enter the public grades, where they can obtain manual training and more cultural subjects.

Speyer School has had a distinct mission in the neigh-

borhood. Besides serving as a practice station for Teachers' College, it was intended to show how the school could be of service to the community. Accordingly, in addition to the regular grades, night classes, lectures, social clubs and indoor games have been promoted. The effort in the grades has been to develop the ability of the children to think for themselves. The purpose of the extension work is to keep in touch with the graduates and the older people of the neighborhood, by furnishing them a place for wholesome recreation and by stimulating general social development in the section. The school in this way, and through a body of resident workers, has acted as a settlement center. A splendid illustration of the results of such getting together was a recent meeting under the auspices of the school, for promoting public interest in securing a day nursery for the neighborhood. It is such co-operation that is needed to make our growing cities more than a series of numbered streets with merely houses and stores.

Undoubtedly, the greatest agency for moulding public opinion among us is the daily press. Not merely the presentation of facts, but what facts are presented, depends upon the type of paper a man reads. As a result of some conversation with the local newsdealers, the writer concludes that no other papers compare in volume of circulation among our neighbors with the (morning) *World* and the (evening) *Journal*. The former is the clerk's choice to scan on his way to the office; the latter is the sheet the workingman picks to read at home after supper. As a rough test of the general character of these organs of public opinion, the columns of an issue of each for a day in January last (chosen at random), were measured and classified. The result of this foot-rule analysis is as follows:

Advertisements	49%	46%
Cartoons and Pictures	11%	16%
Headlines (over 1 in., sing. col.)	9%	7%
Crime and Police Notes	6%	7%
Magazine (Fiction, Humor, Domestic, <i>etc.</i>) ..	5%	8%
Sporting and Theatrical.....	6%	5%
Personal and Social Gossip	6%	2%
Death and Disaster.....	4%	2%
Public Affairs	2%	3%
Social Progress (Science, Labor, <i>etc.</i>)	1 col. ¹	3%
Editorial and General Comment.....	1 col. 1¼ in.	2%
Finance	1 col. 1¼ in.	6½ in.

Comment upon the level of social intelligence herein revealed is perhaps unnecessary.

Another indication of intellectual tastes is furnished by the registration of books read in the Speyer School Library. The Librarian states that attractive binding and illustration have much to do with the choice. So far as subjects are selected, detective stories, romances and nature tales prevail. Among authors, Conan Doyle, Mark Twain, and G. B. McCutcheon lead. Books that have been dramatized are much in demand, and stories of pathos are relished. Not long since a young woman requested "a nice, sad story."

On looking through the City Record Office to discover data upon our neighborhood, the writer was assisted by an obliging clerk, who remarked that the political affiliation of voters might indicate something in regard to their social status. "For," he added with an engaging wink, "You know the swells are Republicans, but the common people are Democrats." Without testing the validity of the suggestion, a summary of the last registration for the 21st, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th and 32nd election districts of the 19th Assembly District (which

¹ 1 column = 19 in.

include the main part of our neighborhood), shows the following proportions: Democrats, 1431; Republicans, 673; Independence League, 124; Socialists, 64; Prohibition, 5; Not Designated, 218. An astute political psychologist might draw certain conclusions from this alinement of native and naturalized forces, as to the proportions of convivial, austere and radical natures to be found in the local population. But let us return to "the native white American."

It may appear that in this excursus on the social life of Manhattanville, we have lost sight of the factor to be defined. But it is only by such a conspectus of formative influences and resulting organizations, that we can understand the type of mind at work and the social medium in which it is engaged. Accordingly, from this rough plotting of institutions we may rapidly characterize the sort of individual involved. Our "American" is prompt and nervous in action; restless and imitative in movement;¹ subject to shallow waves of emotion;² perhaps sanguine in temperament.³ His mind is a strange mixture of wide credulity and skepticism in details; his beliefs are suggested largely by his environment or his present needs; his reasoning is rapid and uncertain.⁴ He

¹ An interesting example of unconscious imitation is the manner in which German errors of speech have crept into the vernacular. The Irish-American child will tell you that he got something *off* a boy that lives *by* (*i. e.*, in the same house with) him. We have heard also of men "sleeping in their job," *i. e.*, where they work.

² Changes of fashions and of friends are rather rapid, and prove disconcerting in dealing with the younger generation.

³ *Cf.* Giddings, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, *et seq.*

⁴ Numerous examples of mixed social values might be cited from tene-ment life in our neighborhood. Perhaps the remark of a thrifty janitress to a slatternly tenant may illustrate the point. In telling how the latter would not use the cheap conveniences of the recently renovated

is ambitious and instigative, adaptable and convivial. In brief, the local native is prevailingly of the "Ideo-Emotional" type of mind.

Negroes. There is another native race, neither indigenous nor exploiting. In 1905 the negroes numbered 983, practically all of whom were of American-born parentage. Five years before, 166 households with 614 members were noted. At the present time there are probably about 1300 negroes in Manhattanville. The race does not multiply rapidly,¹ but the increase comes from moving families into blocks of tenements secured for that purpose. Seven groups and several detached houses in various parts of our neighborhood have been obtained in this way. There is a strong tendency to segregation, and the negro sections are clearly defined. These settlements vary considerably in character, so that what is said of one will not always apply to the others.

The race traits of the American negro are fairly familiar.² They are as a whole, slow and intermittent in their activities, impulsive and imitative in reaction. Their lives are steeped in emotion, which colors all their intellectual processes. Consequently an ordinary negro's judgment is apt to be less clear and objective than a

flat, the good woman said, "At last I had to tell her, as one lady to another, 'You are too dirty to live in this house.'" Another case in point may be mentioned with regard to political views. A young voter recently told the writer that he thought "Every man owes it to his country to stand by his friends." Evidently this remark was a quotation, to which was added the original comment: "Them's the kind of men that does things square."

¹ The average was 1.2 children per married couple in 1900.

² For studies of general characteristics, see Hoffman, *Race Traits of the American Negro*; Thomas, *The American Negro*; Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folks*.

white man's. The African is proverbially credulous and easy-going. He has strong appetites and rather poor control of them. He must attain his purpose by direct onset or patient waiting. His industry is somewhat intermittent and his habits not over-orderly. Such a temperament and character might be classed as a primitive variety of the sanguine and convivial natures.¹ The type of mind is of a rather low "Ideo-Emotional" sort. Let us now see what a brief survey of our colored neighbors will do toward altering this traditional picture.

The negroes on 130th and 131st Streets are at the bottom in this community. They live in old brick tenements, which thus earn a good rent until business development determines a more profitable type of building. These people appear to be of purer blood than those farther east. Their housekeeping is of a rather primitive sort. This is a poor workingman's section for the most part. The heads of the families are mostly laborers, drivers and servants. Some of the women also do day's work and keep boarders. A few seem to be without permanently visible means of support. Because of a certain amount of drunkenness and disorder, together with a propensity to get into quarrels with their white neighbors, the group on 130th Street has driven out the other people that formerly lived in "Mixed Ale Row," and now fills the block with its own roustabouts.

The group on the south side of Lawrence and 126th Streets is one step higher. It has its own saloon, restaurant and pool room. There are more servants and persons engaged in commercial lines in this section. Formerly a few professional people (clergyman and teachers) lived in this settlement, but now they have

¹ Cf. Giddings, *loc. cit.*

moved to better quarters. A group of men may be seen almost any time in front of the saloon. The irregular nature of their employment may account for the leisure of some, who are draymen, waiters, barbers, *etc.* There are reasons for believing, however, that others are, at least partly, supported by the labor of women. A number of cases of men and women living together without formal marriage were noted some time ago. The more prosperous colored people who live on the north side of 126th Street, do not give their humbler brethren a flattering reputation for orderliness. A janitor in the former houses advised the writer not to locate a black boy across the street. We know there has been some gambling in connection with the pool room. The two more serious offenses marked among black men, were charged to residents of this section.¹

The other groups, especially the two newer blocks on 126th Street, have an excellent reputation. The neighbors say the tenements are quiet and orderly. The worst fault that can be found with these houses is that some are apt to be cluttered in their arrangement and lax in their economy. One woman was requested on appeals from the neighbors, to remove part of her furniture, which threatened to overwhelm the floor on which she lived. But in contrast with this case is the scrupulous neatness and attractive brightness of other homes. There are some really admirable people hidden away in these obscure dwellings—patient, unobtrusive natures, that bear the handicap of racial traditions with dignity and sweetness. A few are concerned for the welfare of their people, and try to improve the standards of life

¹ Rape and indecent exposure, noted in the court records already referred to. It is only fair to add, that the disposition of these cases in the higher court to which they were referred, was not traced.

among them. This effort usually takes the form of religious activity.¹ The burden of prejudice, however, weighs more or less heavily upon all black men. The progressive negroes try to guard themselves by withdrawing from association with the disorderly element. Yet they are not recognized socially by the white people; they are practically reduced to menial occupations; and unless protected by numbers, are apt to be made the objects of insult. Colored girls of the better sort seldom venture out at night unless carefully chaperoned. Their weaker sisters are not seldom the recipients of white men's attentions. This embarrassment of a general classification that includes all kinds and conditions of colored people, is the most serious difficulty the negro and mulatto have to face. When blacks and whites live on a basis of relative equality in our cities, it is generally on a pretty low level, where the bad elements of each tend to corrupt the frailties of the other.

Italians. The races already described are in a sense native in America. That is, these peoples are germane to our own stock, or have been among us so long, that their peculiarities no longer strike us as essentially foreign. With the Latins and East Europeans, however, the new varieties still appear strange to us. An illustration of this tendency to regard the late comers as alien was furnished by an Irish boss in the local yard of the Street Cleaning Department. Two Italians applied for work, and were turned away with the scornful remark, "No! We have only work for *Amerikun citizuns*." This in the richest Hibernian brogue!

¹A colored mission, formerly conducted in our neighborhood, has been discontinued from lack of support and because of unpleasant interruptions.

The Italians have been coming to us in numbers only within the last twenty-five years. The second generation is just beginning to appear in public life. In 1900 there were 54 households of Italians, with about 200 persons, in Manhattanville. Five years later there were 273 such foreign-born persons. Since that time the number has somewhat increased, so that now there are approximately 550 people of Italian parentage in this neighborhood. They have settled mostly about the triangle formed by the intersection of Amsterdam Avenue, 125th and Manhattan Streets. Smaller groups are located on Old Broadway and upper Amsterdam Avenue. These people are practically all from Southern Italy, although a handful of taller, light Northerners is found on the southern boundaries of our neighborhood.

The Neapolitan and Calabrian types are fairly familiar to most social workers.¹ They are a short, dark people, with quick, sympathetic reactions. Their emotions are strong and readily aroused. The most frequent charge against them is violence in quarrels;² although, as a rule, they are sunny and peaceful in temper. The Italian is perhaps over-sensitive and credulous. His imagination is lively and plastic, as shown by the striking use of color and arrangement in clothing and merchandise. Our neighbors are not well schooled, but show remarkable aptitude for conducting business successfully. They are thrifty and frugal, collecting and using much material that other people waste. As a whole, the Italians may be characterized as "convivial," and their type of mind de-

¹ For a general analysis, see *The Italian in America*, by Lord, Trenor and Barrows.

² Two cases of assault and one of disorder noted on the court records referred to, were all discharged.

scribed as one marked by a rather simple *emotional-idealism*.¹

The men are mostly laborers, shoemakers, barbers and small merchants. Within our section or bordering upon it, are half a dozen fruit stands owned by Italians. They begin with a push-cart; obtain the privilege of a stand; gain a concession to sell garden produce in connection with a grocery store; and finally stock a shop of their own with attractively arranged provisions. This evolution of industry may be seen within a few blocks on Amsterdam Avenue. Another profitable line of trade is the retail coal and ice business. A young man will rent an unused basement; build a rough bin and a bunk in the rear; and peddle small quantities of his stores to improvident tenement dwellers, at a reasonably high rate of profit. The Italians save consistently, and are able to amass considerable property.

The homes are at first rather poorly kept, and are disturbed by the presence of boarders. But the Italian soon adjusts himself to city ways, and becomes ambitious of social advancement. He is fond of music and social pleasures, but he usually keeps his appetites well in hand. Not a single arrest for drunkenness was reported of the Latins in our section on the police records already referred to. The Italian women are uniformly continent, for the "unwritten law" is sternly enforced upon both offenders among these southern people.

Socially the Italians appear provincial, because they group together with their fellow countrymen for mutual protection in a strange environment. They often do not master English, and read comparatively little. Two Italian newspapers have a small circulation in this sec-

¹ Cf. Giddings, *loc. cit.*

tion; but the dealers say their sales are small and fluctuating. This linguistic bar is somewhat overcome by the children, who are bright and quick in acquiring American ways. The Catholic Church forms another link with our local economy. A number of Italians belong to both Roman parishes in our neighborhood; others go to the Church in the East Side settlement. In a civic way, the men are reported as rather slow at naturalization. In 1905 there were 15 in the 1019 voters noted. Though this is equal to the proportion of the Italian element in the total population at that time, it is low because of the considerable number of young unmarried men who have not yet decided to settle here.

The Jews. We now come to speak of a people who are rapidly growing at home in New York. They have become such an essential part in the city economy, that they appear rather as a peculiar commercial factor, than as a foreign element. The presence of the Jews was scarcely noticed until the great numbers of Russian and Polish Hebrews began to pour in upon us some twenty years ago. Since the late uprisings in Russia, the incoming tide has augmented; so that New York at present is probably the largest Jewish center the world has ever seen.¹ It is difficult to estimate the exact number of Hebrews, because they were not until recently distinguished on entry from other people of the same native country. As stated, the great majority (probably 98 per cent) of Russian immigrants are Jewish; but so also are large numbers of Germans, Austrians and persons coming from the northeastern Balkans. We may

¹ Estimates of the Hebrew population of Greater New York vary from 500,000 to 750,000.

safely conclude that all of the former in our neighborhood are Hebrews, and about three-fifths of those from other Slavic states.

These people began to drift into Manhattanville in the nineties, first as peddlers, then as small shopkeepers. By 1900 there were 37 Russian and Polish families, comprising about 150 members. In 1905 there were 204 persons of Russian and Polish birth, which must have meant a population of some 500 with such parentage. Within the last four years the numbers have grown still more rapidly, so that 900 is a conservative estimate of the present Hebrew population in our neighborhood. These people, first with an eye to business, settled along Manhattan and 125th Streets and upper Amsterdam Avenue. They opened little shops, and lived in the rear of the store. With the building of new apartment houses on both hills, a more prosperous type of Jewish business man has come in. This element has now become so considerable that the *kosher* signs are beginning to appear up toward City College. The establishment of the Jewish Seminary on 123d Street furnished another educational center for Hebrews in this section.

Our Jewish neighbors are practically all *Ashkenazim*, or members of the northern branch of the Dispersion. They differ considerably from the Spanish type, showing certain near-Slavic traits. The representative Russian or Polish Hebrew is short, dark and slender.¹ The distinctive cast of countenance is marked by square cheekbones, full lips and heavy-lidded eyes. The Jew is sensitive and nervous, but not impulsive. He conceals his emotions under an assumed appearance of indifference;

¹ For a general account of Jewish characteristics, see Leroy-Beaulieu, *Israel Among the Nations*; for life on the Lower East Side, Norman Hapgood, *The Spirit of the Ghetto*.

his native curiosity, with an air of polite interest. He is apt to meet one with a somewhat deferential manner until assured of his position, when he occasionally displays an unsuspected amount of aggressiveness. He has great facility in accommodating himself to circumstances; but his persistent purpose, like a well-tempered spring, only awaits opportunity to express its motive.

All authorities agree that the Jew runs to brains. Our neighbors are not marked for philosophical subtlety so much as for economic shrewdness. Still they are fond of reading and discussion. Very few Hebrew papers circulate in our neighborhood, however, since most of the people have mastered English.¹ It is an interesting fact to note, that they have obtained most of the news stands in connection with the little candy and cigar stores in our section. The larger business men have acquired real estate for speculation. The Jews are proverbially close buyers and careful spenders, a frugal and provident people. They are traditionally temperate and continent. The second generation is not so quiet and orderly as the immigrants, however. The young men and women are soon fired with commercial and social ambition, which sometimes leads them to excesses of speculation and frivolity. There is occasionally a "*Frechheit*" and boorishness noticeable in these young people, not remarked in their parents. This is in some cases due to precocious academic or business success; in others it may be attributed to mere lack of social training.

Austro-Hungarians. There are some Austrian Slavs and Magyars in our neighborhood. The former are

¹ Yiddish is spoken in many households.

mostly Bohemians, together with a few Poles. These people began to arrive in Manhattanville about twenty-five years ago. In 1900 just 24 Austro-Hungarian households were noted, comprising some 75 persons. Five years later, 174 Austro-Hungarians were registered. As before explained, this is a mixed classification, including Hebrews, Teutons, Slavs and Huns. But we are convinced from personal observation, that a considerable Slavic element has filtered through the section. So far as it has settled at all, 127th Street and Old Broadway may be said to be the centers. Smaller groups are also to be found along 125th and Manhattan Streets.

The Slavic type is less conspicuous than most others in our community; and unless investigation discovered it, might pass undetected.¹ The ethnic traits vary considerably with the nativity. Our Bohemian friends do not differ greatly in appearance from the South Germans. There is perhaps less repose of manner, a more melancholy temperament, greater vividness of imagination and a more volatile disposition. The better educated Slavs are affable, industrious and clever. But the majority are less practical and persistent than the average Anglo-Saxon. In these respects we are reminded of certain Celtic traits that appear in the Slavic nature.

The men are engaged mostly in trade and manufacturing; to a less degree, in construction, labor and service. Some of the Huns used to be employed in the color works and the iron-foundry. Since these have moved away, this element is no longer obvious in the local population. So far as the writer has visited the

¹ For a general analysis of Slavic characteristics, see Hellwald, *Die Welt der Slawen*; and Fouillée, *Psychologie des peuples européens*, pp. 409, *et seq.*; also Skikorsky, "La psychologie des Slaves," *Rev. Philos.*, v. 45, p. 625, *et seq.*

Slavic homes, overcrowding and lack of feminine care seem to be the principal defects. But this observation is based upon so few instances in our locality, that it is a generalization of slight value.

Other Nationalities. There are a handful of Greeks and Chinese in Manhattanville, some West Indians and rare representatives of the Levant. But they are so few as to make little impression on neighborhood life. We may say in brief, that the Greeks tend to follow the social economy of the Italians. The Chinese are all solitary laundrymen.

Conclusions. We have now indicated the factors in the local population that determine its social temper. It yet remains to summarize these elements briefly, and to suggest how they co-operate. It may be assumed without much risk of error, that the predominant type of mind represented in the community is "Ideo-Emotional," with variations toward motor and intellectual modifications.¹ The "Dogmatic" sort is but sparsely represented by a few British and older Jewish families. We may say then, that the emotional variety may be estimated as 70 per cent of the whole number, 10 per cent as motor in tendency, and 15 per cent as thoughtful in reaction. The remaining 5 per cent tend toward a dogmatic attitude.

As to sympathy and consciousness of kind, we may refer to foregoing statements concerning grouping among certain nationalities. Upon the basis of nativity and race (*Cf.* Table XII, p. 51), following Professor

¹ *Cf.* Giddings, *op. cit.*, appendix i.

Giddings' suggestion,¹ we obtain 91.24 per cent as the index number for sympathy in this neighborhood. Evidently the range of fellow-feeling in such a mixed city population is low, as shown by this statistical method.

In regard to the degree of co-operation found among these people, an incident from the writer's experience may illustrate this point. A plan was formulated whereby the members of a certain organization in Manhattanville might obtain a cash discount upon all purchases above a given sum, upon presenting their membership card to the dealer designated after inspection, as reliable for that line of purchases. The merchants were eager to secure trade in this way; the members were enthusiastic over the prospect of reductions; and the organization flattered itself that an enlarged enrollment and a more interested group of consumers would result. The plan started well. Soon, however, the merchants complained that few persons presented the cards, so that they could not afford to give the reduction to the small number who did. When the members were questioned, some admitted that they did not like to appear as if begging favors. Others could not resist attractive premiums offered in lieu of a cash rebate. Thus one woman was entitled to 10 per cent off on a weekly baker's account

¹ The formula is:

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \text{Index Number} = & \frac{\text{Per cent native-born of native white parents.}}{1} & + \frac{\begin{array}{l} \% \text{ nat. b. nat. w. par.} \\ + \% \text{ nat. b. for. w. par.} \end{array}}{2} \\ & & + \frac{\begin{array}{l} \% \text{ nat. b. nat. w. par.} \\ + \% \text{ nat. b. for. w. par.} \\ + \% \text{ for. b. whites.} \end{array}}{4} & + \frac{\begin{array}{l} \% \text{ nat. b. nat. w. par.} \\ + \% \text{ nat. b. for. w. par.} \\ + \% \text{ for. b. whites.} \\ + \text{all colored.} \end{array}}{8} \end{array}$$

Cf. Giddings, op. cit., appendix ii.

of two dollars. The dealer told his customer that she could have either a receipted bill for \$1.80, or a fifteen-cent cake thrown in for the full amount. Without a moment's hesitation, the good housewife took the cake. The alluring advertisements of premium stamps by rival dealers broke up this attempt at a consumers' union within a short time.

The outcome of this actual experiment in co-operation may indicate somewhat the frame of mind and steadiness of purpose that can be expected in such a neighborhood. The desire for personal advantage and the dislike of appearing queer, are rather marked. The same spirit applies to trade unions, so that those that are powerful and popular obtain allegiance. A workman will frequently dismiss the claims of a weaker organization with the significant remark, "What's the use? I can get along just as well without it."

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

THE most fundamental social activity of any group is the economic occupation of its members. On the one hand these occupations indicate inherent and acquired characteristics of the people, which lead them to adopt certain lines of work. That is, the vocations express essential qualities of mind and body that induce their possessors to follow specific callings. On the other hand this employment reveals the social needs that afford business opportunities and professional openings. The tendencies of trade and industry, the requirements of public office and personal service, present the field of usefulness for the workers. These two factors of personal ability and social demand so interact through business organization as to establish well-defined types of employment. The occupation in turn fixes its mark upon the individual by developing a certain set of habits and tendencies. As a result appear the characteristic reactions and points of view of the craftsman, the business man and the professional man.

Equally decisive is the grade of employment. This not only determines in general the degree of independence and leisure of the worker; but in particular, it establishes his level of remuneration. Now while it is true that rate of wages or income does not entirely determine the standard of living, it is true that income supplies the economic basis for commanding the necessities and lux-

uries of life. So that the enjoyment of home comfort, education, recreation and many sorts of social opportunity do depend upon the type and grade of occupation. Bearing these general principles in mind, let us now proceed to analyze the business interests and industrial pursuits of the population of Manhattanville.

According to the Federal returns for 1900, 4878 persons were registered as engaged in gainful occupations; 7914 were entered as unemployed; and for 1883 no record of regular business was given. Referring to Table VI (page 38), we find the distribution of these persons among the members of the household as follows:

TABLE XIII

EMPLOYMENT

	Employed	Unemployed	Not Designated	Total
Heads of Households ...	2,894	....	327	3,221
Children and Relatives..	1,917	7,914	50	9,881
Servants	67	....	....	67
Boarders .....	....	....	1,002	1,002
Institutions .....	....	....	168	168
Others .....	....	....	336	336
Totals	4,878	7,914	1,883	14,675

On the basis of the first two items, for which we have specific data, we may arrive at a ratio of employment for the population as a whole. We find that 37 per cent of the members in these families were employed, and 60 per cent were not. As to the remaining 3 per cent not designated, we discover that 269 of the heads of households were women, of whom 47 had boarders or lodgers.¹

¹ See Table XVI, p. 112.

In regard to the other classes, it is clear that their personnel is not distributed as in the families. A majority of the boarders (perhaps two-thirds) were young wage-earners, especially men employed in the transportation interests centering in the neighborhood.¹ As to those connected with institutions, we know that more than thirty persons were identified with the local orphanage, hospital and college, as members of the staff or employees—servants, nurses, teachers, *etc.*² For “Others,” we can only estimate that perhaps half the number had to earn a living.³ Consequently we may say, that between 40 per cent and 45 per cent of the population were engaged in gainful occupations.

But what kinds of work do these people do? The Federal returns give more than two hundred different occupations for 2894 heads of households. Their classification according to trade, business or profession is presented in the table on pages 105-106.

In this table an attempt has been made to arrange the occupations according to a progressive series in the process of production, distribution and social control. Under each main division the specialized lines of work are presented by industry (according to material, process or product) or by type of service. For each of these in turn, the particular trades or pursuits most important in such lines are indicated. The classification follows in general the scheme of the Federal census. Only one or two points require explanation.

By “Transforming Industries” is meant those fundamental operations that alter the form of raw material, so

¹ Cf. Tables XIV, XVII, XVIII, and remarks on Plate A.

² The Federal returns give 9 + in these instances.

³ These “Others” are persons of various sorts not accounted for in the foregoing partial items that make up the total.

TABLE XIV

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY OR CALLING. HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS.

FEDERAL RETURNS, 1900

Common Laborers	undifferentiated	333
Personal Service		318
Managers	61 saloon keepers, 29; boarding-house, 13; caterers, 9, <i>etc.</i>	
Attendants	19 nurses, 13; masseurs, 2, <i>etc.</i>	
Domestic	45 coachmen, 9; servants, 33, <i>etc.</i>	
House	56 janitors, 49.	
General	137 barbers, 32; laundry, 44; waiters, 34, <i>etc.</i>	
Extractive Industries ..	Agriculture, 18; Quarry, 4.....	22
Transforming Industries		162
	brewers and bottlers, 34; iron workers, 21; stationery, eng., 76, <i>etc.</i>	
Construction		430
Building	333 contractors, 13; carpenters, 116; masons, 56; plumbers, 49.	
Decorating	97 painters and glaziers, 92.	
Manufactures		427
Management	20 manufacturers, 9; foremen, 7.	
Clothing	55 dressmakers, 28; tailors, 24.	
Feed	38 bakers, 31.	
Furniture	23 pianos, 7; upholstery, 10.	
Leather	33 shoes, 26.	
Metal	83 blacksmiths, 32; machinist, 23.	
Paper and Books	38 compositors and printers, 22.	
Textiles	95 silk-weavers, warpers, finishers, <i>etc.</i> , 92.	
Wagons	9	
Wood-working	16 coopers, 5; machine hands, 11.	
Various	17 color, 5; cigars, 9, <i>etc.</i>	
Transportation		477
Foremen (gen.)	3	
Communication	9 linemen, 3; telegraphers, 4.	
Draught	278 livery, 7; draymen, 219; hostlers, 47.	
Lighters	17 longshoremen, stevedores, <i>etc.</i>	
Navigation	9 captain, deckhands, dredger, pilot, <i>etc.</i>	

Railway	55	conductors, 11; engineers and firemen, 15; flagmen, <i>etc.</i> , 10.	
Tramways	106	conductors, 35; motormen, 54.	
Trade and Commerce			507
Factors	54	agents, 36; brokers, 7; supt. and managers, 10.	
Retailers	160	grocers, 25; huxters, 17, <i>etc.</i>	
Clerks	144	book-keepers, 65; cashiers, 43.	
Salesmen	120		
Shippers	29	porters, 19, <i>etc.</i>	
Government Employ			139
Federal	20	letter-carriers, 10; P. O. clerks, 8.	
Municipal	119	inspectors, 8; fire, 11; police, 95; streets, 5.	
Professions			74
“Artistic”	37	Art, 9—artists, 4; architects, 3; designers, 2.	
		Letters, 14—journalism, 4; literary, 3.	
		Musicians, 7.	
		Theatrical, 14—actors, 12; theatrical managers, 2.	
“Learned”	15	Clergy, 5; Lawyers, 4; Doctors, 6.	
“Practical”	22	chemist, 1; dentist, 1; engineers, 6; teachers, 14.	
Landlords			5
Total			2,894

that it can be employed in further processes of production. These operations are generally of a massive character, involving an essential physical or chemical change in the shape, consistency or potential of the original substance. They imply an alteration by elemental mechanical or chemical process rather than the skilful manipulation and combination of parts. Such are smelting, refining and iron-working, stone-cutting (“roughing-out”) and brick-making, the sawing of timber, the milling of grain, pulp-making, spinning, bleaching and

dyeing, brewing and distilling, the tanning and finishing of hides, and the generation of heat, power and light. It will be seen that the requisites essential in such lines are knowledge of materials and attentive watching of the process, strength and decision rather than manual dexterity. The industries themselves seem to be intermediate between extraction and manufacture, somewhat as transportation stands between manufacturing and the marketing of the finished product,

Under "Service" several types have been emphasized. For instance, the occupation of "Managers" more nearly resembles that of persons in charge of a mercantile establishment than that of "menials;" although it has to do with the immediate satisfaction of bodily needs. Again, "Domestic" and "House" servants are differentiated by the limitation of their responsibility to the execution of individual orders or to the running of the plant. Under "General" service is included a class of occupations that involve personal attendance, but which are at the same time offices extended to a group of patrons or to the public in general. This last distinction will be further developed in speaking of grades of employment in what follows. The other divisions are self-explanatory. Let us now consider the relative numbers of persons in the various lines of work.

It must be remembered, however, that we are here dealing with the heads of households, *i. e.*, with the men and women (exclusive of spouses) classified in Table XI (page 48), practically all of whom were over twenty-one years of age.¹ Consequently, we have exact information for only about half the workers. This fact will doubtless modify our conclusions as to the relative numbers

¹ Plate A.

engaged in manufactures and trade, since younger and unattached persons show a tendency to enter these lines.¹ Nevertheless, we may indicate the industrial trend of the longer established population upon this basis.

On looking over the list, one is struck by the large numbers employed in unskilled labor, in the building trades and in transportation. Those engaged in the professions, in commercial lines and in manufactures are relatively few for a business and industrial center such as New York. Comparing the percentage of persons in all gainful occupations who are employed in these lines, with that for the Boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx at the same date,² we have the following significant contrast:

	Labor	Construc- tion	Trans- port	Manufac- ture	Trade	Profes- sions
Manhattanville .	11.5%	14.8%	16.4%	15.5%	17.5%	2.6%
Manhattan and Bronx	6.4%	5.9%	5.6%	29.7%	26.2%	5.8%

Manhattanville is also well represented in regard to city employees, small shop-keepers and in certain lines of personal service. The considerable numbers engaged in draying, silk-weaving and brewing, reflect somewhat the attraction of local industries. The builders and stationary engineers, however, seem to be the natural exponents of characteristic traits in the people.

The following table is an attempt to arrange these persons according to the type or grade of their occupa-

¹ See Table XVIII, p. 116.

² See U. S. Census, *Report on Occupations*, 1901, pp. 457, 459.

tion, without reference to the particular branch of industry in which they may have been engaged:

TABLE XV

OCCUPATIONS ACCORDING TO TYPE OR GRADE. HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS,
1900

Laborers	380
Servants	861
Private.....	126 domestic, 51; house, 56; personal, 19.
Public.....	735 corporation (transport), 130; general, 488; official, 117.
Craftsmen	999
Handicraftsmen	663
Machine Workers	336
Clerks.....	277
Clerks	154
Salesmen.....	113
Shippers	10
Agents	107
Agents.....	37
Brokers	7
Foreman	36
Inspectors.....	13
Supt. and Mgrs.....	14
Enterprisers	186
Contractors	13
Manufacturers	9
Merchants	164
Proprietors	9
Owners	4
Landlords	5
Professions	75
Total	2,894

As "Laborers" are classified all those unskilled workers whose toil demands primarily muscular exertion in the disposition of rough material. Under this head are grouped beside "common day-laborers," farm-hands, quarrymen, hod-carriers, longshoremen, road-builders and street-sweepers.

By "Servants" are indicated not only those persons who are hired to perform the menial tasks of domestic life and personal attendance; but also those employed in rendering general service in the performance of such functions as guards, drivers, inn-keepers, *etc.*; as well as public servants in the more technical sense, such as police and firemen, letter-carriers, *etc.* Here belong most of those who wear stripes and brass buttons of private or official design, and the tribe of those who stretch the hand for tips and fees. This group as a whole, like the preceding, is technically unskilled, and only partly organized. There is a great difference between its two main divisions, however, in point of social consideration, if not of skill.

Under the heading "Craftsmen" are grouped the skilled manual workers, whose industry requires deftness, practice and knowledge of materials. These are the mechanics and artisans of various sorts. They may be divided roughly into "Handicraftsmen" and "Machine Workers." To the former belong the builders, smiths, makers of books, and all those whose trade has not been mastered by steel fingers. These crafts vary in skill from the rougher work of construction to the art of the silversmith and the engraver. To the second division belong machine drivers and mechanics in the strict sense, factory hands and process tenders (such as brewers and ordinary iron workers). It is interesting here to note, that though the hand workers are almost twice as numerous as the machine tenders, the special crafts of both are about the same in number. This fact illustrates the tendency of the machine to divide and conquer. The craftsmen have attempted to meet this tendency by trades unions. With the exception of certain factory hands and helpers, this entire group is pretty generally

organized, and forms the advance guard of working-men's movements.

With the next group, we leave the class of manual laborers and enter the business world. Here strength and dexterity are supplanted by knowledge of commercial operations. The first group consists of the "Clerks." These are the routine workers of trade and commerce, the bookkeepers, cashiers, salesmen and shippers. Their weekly wage and uncertain employment relates them to the foregoing working class as "proletarians."

The "Agents" form a connecting link between the wage-earners and those persons with capital and income. Their practical interests ally them with the *bourgeoisie*, although their dependence upon wages, salaries or commissions show them to be derived from the preceding economic orders. Here we have grouped all those who have a restricted field of delegated authority, in supervising the work of other men or in managing the interests of other people.

Then come the "Enterprisers" (*entrepreneurs*), the contractors, small manufacturers, traders and shopkeepers. These are the persons with some savings and shrewdness who operate for profits. They are closely identified with the "Proprietors," who are the real capitalists of the section.

The "Professions" have already been analyzed. There were more persons in "artistic" and "practical" lines than in the "learned" branches. The economic position of this class places it somewhat on the level of agents and higher public servants.

The preceding analyses comprise both sexes. It is of interest, therefore, to segregate the women and to discover how they were employed. The following table

shows the occupations of female heads of households, according to the Federal returns.

TABLE XVI

OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN. HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, 1900	
Day Laborers—scrub-women, <i>etc.</i>	4
Service	89
Managers, 16—boarding-houses, 11; lunch, 1; mgr. club, 2; saloon, 2; Nurses, 10; Servants, 16; Janitresses, 20; Laundresses, 27.	
Manufactures.....	48
confections, 2; dressmaking, 27; hats, 1; millinery, 1; mattress, 1; paper-box, 2; sewings, 2; silk-weavers, warpers, winders, <i>etc.</i> , 10; umbrellas, 1; woolens, 1.	
Trade and Commerce.....	20
Retailers, 15—coal yard, 1; news-stand, 1; store-keepers, 13. Clerks and Sales-women, 5.	
Professions.....	7
Actress, 1; Musician, 1; Teachers, 5.	
Landlady.....	1
Total Designated by Occupation	169
Total Undesignated by Occupation.....	269
Undesignated but having boarders or lodgers	47
Undesignated but having house to rent.....	1
Total Engaged in Gainful Occupations	217
No occupation indicated, but living with relatives employed	158
No source of income indicated.....	63
Total Female Heads of Households.....	438

Half the women were engaged in gainful operations. Of these, 63 per cent were employed in various forms of personal service—perhaps the most natural type of work for women, and one for them equivalent to unskilled labor in general (with obvious exceptions, such as nursing and catering). Twenty-two per cent were engaged in manufactures (mostly sewing trades), and 9 per cent were in commercial lines, especially as small shopkeepers.

In this analysis we are limited by having at hand no data in regard to wives, daughters, other female relatives and boarders. From personal observation, however, it is evident that a considerable number of married women take lodgers and do housework for other people, in order to supplement the family earnings. Many of the younger women are in stores, offices and factories. The coming generation shows a tendency to "clerk it" before marriage. The facts as a whole indicate that women are by no means idle members of the community.

Let us now see how the men are distributed in various occupations according to nationality and age. For this purpose we have used the State census returns of potential voters for 1905.¹ This is also a selected group, but it is typical, and may indicate more recent tendencies. The table on the following page shows the numbers by nativities in the various lines of industry.

Americans, since they constitute more than half the entire number returned, naturally predominate in most lines. This is true of absolute numbers in all important branches except unskilled labor. Here the Irish surpass other nationalities; but they seem in turn to be yielding before the Italian "pick-and-shovel-man." From practically all the more unskilled and "less honored" lines of work, the aspiring native is being dislodged by the sturdy peasants and servitors of Europe. The Americans show up best in the professions and government service, in commercial enterprise, in transportation, construction and the transforming industries. In the first, they stand preëminent, sharing honors only with their English cousins. This fact appears to be due to opportunities for education and social advance, open

¹ Cf. p. 44, note 1.

XVII

INDUSTRY BY NATIONALITIES. POTENTIAL VOTERS, 1905

	American	Irish	German	English	Swiss	Italian	Scotch	Scandinavian	Russian	Austro-Hungarian	Various	Total
Labor	52	58	16	3	...	5	...	2	...	...	1	137
Service	36	16	15	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	73
Extractive	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Transforming	26	8	8	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	44
Construction	81	12	15	10	2	...	8	7	2	1	2	140
Manufacturing	62	12	31	8	17	5	4	1	5	1	4	150
Transport	85	43	20	5	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	154
Trade and Commerce.	125	24	38	2	...	1	2	2	2	3	2	201
Govt. Employ	31	20	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	54
Professions	13	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
Retired	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	6
Not Given	20	8	10	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	39
Totals	534	204	158	35	21	15	14	13	9	6	10	1019

most readily to natives and to those who speak the vernacular without foreign accent. The largest number of Americans, however, go in for trade and commerce. This appears to be the line offering quickest financial returns for shrewdness, and demanding least routine application. Here the most effective competitor is the

methodical German clerk and thrifty shop-keeper. In transportation, construction and transformation, we have to do with industries that require agility, courage and decision. For the stirring occupations of public guardianship and transportation, the Irish appear to be our most ambitious rivals. In the building trades, it is our hardy North-European relatives—the English, Scotch and Scandinavians—who are relatively most numerous. But in the rather monotonous branches of manufacturing, the more patient and skilful Germans and Swiss seem to take first place. The practical domination of silk-weaving by Swiss artizans, is an interesting example of national specialization. For the more recently arrived Italian workmen and Russian Jews, we have scarcely sufficient data for our neighborhood to generalize. The Federal returns for 1900, however, show that these people also enter largely into the manufacturing industries of New York.¹ When the time comes to retire from active business life, the Germans seem to have made most systematic provision for old age. The Irish are rather wont to depend upon the earnings of their children. The American frequently has no occupation because he has mastered none.

We must now endeavor to discover the tendencies of the working population to enter various types of occupations or to drop out with advancing years. The following table presents a classification of the voters just enumerated, arranged according to age in grades of employment as set forth in Table XV.

¹ See especially *Occupations*, pp. 642-649 (analysis for Manhattan and Bronx).

TABLE XVIII

OCCUPATIONS BY GRADE ACCORDING TO AGE. POTENTIAL VOTERS, 1905

	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	Total
Labor.....	37	47	28	15	12	4	.....	143
Service	61	99	61	19	4	2	.....	246
Craftsmen	82	117	83	47	12	1	.....	342
Clerks	70	45	22	4	1	1	.....	143
Agents	7	4	10	1	1	1	.....	24
Merchants	12	19	21	4	2	.....	.....	58
Professions.....	6	6	2	3	.....	1	.....	18
Retired .....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	.....	.....	6
Not Given	11	5	5	7	4	6	1	39
Totals	286	342	232	102	40	16	1	1019

It will be seen at a glance, that about five-sixths of these workers are under fifty. At that age, those who are able begin to retire, and only a rapidly diminishing proportion remain engaged in active industry. In this respect, however, the different lines show interesting variations. Evidently the age period about 30 years is the most vigorous working time for the majority of men. It is within this decade that the greatest numbers in all manual lines fall. The mercantile pursuits, however, prove exceptions. The clerk class contains mostly younger men. On the other hand, the responsibility of agency and supervision appears not to settle until the forties. The merchants also are mostly men about this age. Apparently youthful smartness and the tried judgment of maturity are the respective qualities that determine this distribution in commerce.

It is the working-men, however, who are in the majority. Accordingly their distribution is more significant for classifying the working population according

to age. The proportions of servants and craftsmen in successive periods correspond pretty closely with the rate of variation for all occupations. The characteristics are, a rapid increase (about 50 per cent increment) from the twenties to the thirties, a similar decrease during the forties, an even more rapid decline in the fifties, and by seventy the race is about run. True, some of the laborers still hang on (perhaps from necessity), although such employment is probably merely nominal.

Let us see how the ranks are recruited. Evidently the the young men are most numerous in the handicrafts, in general public service and in commercial lines. It is interesting to note how many of these are natives, and to discover what the tendency of Americans with advancing years may be. Upon this problem the following table throws some light.

TABLE XIX

NATIVE BORN VOTERS, 1905. GRADED OCCUPATIONS BY AGE

	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	Total
Labor	24	15	10	3	1	1	54
Service	48	48	30	7	3	.....	136
Crafts	58	58	33	15	2	.....	166
Clerks	55	27	14	3	1	.....	100
Agents	4	1	8	1	.....	1	15
Merchants	12	2	9	1	.....	.....	24
Professions	6	5	1	.....	.....	1	13
Totals	207	156	105	30	7	3	508

On comparing this with the preceding table, it is clear that young Americans in increasing proportions are entering into business enterprise. The greater numbers in the handicrafts and service are made up largely of immi-

grants, domestic and foreign. The same tendency is evident from the registration for successive years in the supplementary classes and social clubs of Speyer School. In an increasing degree, these young people show their preference for clerical positions. This fact taken in connection with the influx of foreign workmen, leads us to believe that the natives are likely to become a race of salesmen and stenographers. It must be added, however, that many boys who begin in offices and stores, finding their earning capacity limited and seeing slight chance of advancement, drop out of business and take up a trade. They show little tendency to follow their fathers' lines, however. Only four such cases were noted in 1900—three stationary engineers and one roofer.

In the preceding paragraphs we have seen how the people are distributed according to their occupations. We must now endeavor to indicate what social consideration is accorded to their labor in the form of wages. The general level of remuneration will give us some notion of the economic welfare of the neighborhood. For this purpose we have taken the industries of the heads of households, presented in Table XIV (p. 105), as the basis of distribution. For each line of business, we have used the average rate or minimum union wage in Manhattan at the date of the last official investigation of this matter (*i. e.*, Sept. 30, 1907).¹ This has occasionally been corrected from knowledge of the conditions of important local industries. But in the main the union basis has been assumed as the one that establishes a rate obtainable by most workmen who care to do so. We

¹For this data the writer is indebted to the kindness of Dr. L. W. Hatch, Chief Statistician of the New York State Department of Labor, and to Mr. E. Stagg Whitin, Investigator.

have supposed also that the relative numbers in the various trades are not widely different from those found in the Federal enumeration. Leaving out of account those commercial and professional lines in which returns are uncertain, we may regard the following table as indicative of the general level of daily wages in our neighborhood. We have here accounted for about one-sixth of the present working population; but this number represents the characteristic employments of the principal wage-earners of our families, and so may be considered typical of workingmen's incomes.

TABLE XX

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN EMPLOYMENTS WITH GIVEN LEVEL OF WAGES

Mean Wage	No. of Persons	Mean Wage	No. of Persons
\$1.00-\$1.24.....	5	\$3.75-\$3.99.....	119
1.25- 1.49.....	45	4.00- 4.24.....	97
1.50- 1.74.....	37	4.25- 4.49.....	15
1.75- 1.99.....	32	4.50- 4.74.....	9
2.00- 2.24.....	460	4.75- 4.99.....	59
2.25- 2.49.....	27	5.00- 5.24.....	
2.50- 2.74.....	286	5.25- 5.49.....	32
2.75- 2.99.....	141	5.50- 5.74.....	56
3.00- 3.24.....	65		
3.25- 3.49.....	18		
3.50- 3.74.....	35		
		Median Wage	Total Persons
		\$2.64	1,538

In the first group (\$1-\$2) belong the tinkers, unskilled factory hands, the waiters and most needle-women. These people can scarcely support a family without additional income. To the two-dollar group belong the day laborers, the skilled servants, drivers, good machine hands, many handicraftsmen, and most of the common clerks and

salesmen. It will be seen that this is the largest class of breadwinners, a great number of our neighbors receiving between thirteen and seventeen dollars a week.¹ The next class includes the dynasts of labor, the longshoremen and coal-heavers, who work strenuously for limited periods. Here also belong the riggers, the metal-workers and the stone-sawyers, the painters and decorators, the printers, the local conductors and the postmen. Above the four-dollar level we enter the aristocracy of handicrafts. Here are most of the smiths, the construction plumbers, the tile-layers and the engineers. Just within this general class also, the better grades of book-keepers and cashiers fall. Beyond five dollars we find more builders—masons, plasterers and the like. But their high rate of daily wage scarcely compensates for the long seasons of idleness that intervene between lively spells. A discussion of the steadiness of employment, however, belongs more properly to a special study of local industry.

The classification given above does not include the many boys and young women in Manhattanville, who help support the family by paying board at home. As saleswomen, the girls average \$6 to \$8 a week. This puts them in the first group. The boys and girls who begin as store-help and apprentices, make from \$2.50 to \$5. This is clearly an order of supplementary earnings.

In order that the relative wage levels of the chief industrial classes in our section may be a little more definite, we have thrown the data of Table XX into another form. In this arrangement the earnings of the different grades are shown as follows:

¹ The mode is probably about \$2.60 for daily wage.

TABLE XXI

MEAN LEVEL OF WAGE ACCORDING TO TYPE OF OCCUPATION

	\$1-\$2	\$2-\$3	\$3-\$4	\$4-\$5	\$5-\$6	Medians ¹
Laborers.....	.....	340	6	.....	.....	\$2.12½
Public Service.....	34	299	36	.....	.....	2.59½
Craftsmen.....	85	210	195	115	88	3.54
Clerks .....	.....	65	.....	65	.....	3.50

Clearly the skilled handicraftsmen are the best paid. But as before remarked, the employment in such lines is not very steady. The highest level is probably maintained by the skilled operatives, such as the weavers. Although the better grade of book-keepers raises the clerks' average, it is probable that a correctly weighted result would be much lower (probably somewhere about \$3). Between the three-dollar man and the four-dollar man there seems to be fixed an economic gulf, almost dividing the wage-earner from the salaried person. This is impassible for the laborer, for all but a few engaged in public service, and for most artizans. The ordinary clerk and conductor seems to stick at about the weekly twenty-dollar limit, and runs small chance of exceeding it. Such differences mean distinctions in homes, clothing and amusements. Let us see how some of these appear.

Perhaps the most important item of expenditure in the Borough of Manhattan is that for rent. In order to discover the level of rents for apartments in Manhattanville, the writer and some of his friends adopted the

¹ Medians calculated from data for small intervals.

method of looking at every suite and tenement advertised to let in the section, during a period of two months last winter. The rooms were examined, the rates asked for, and the general character of the adjoining properties inquired into. In this way some 80 houses were visited in all parts of the neighborhood, and the rents of more than 235 apartments were noted. These seemed to fall naturally into four groups: First, those few renting for less than \$15 a month. Such apartments are to be had in the old dumb-bell brick tenements along lower Amsterdam Avenue, on Old Broadway and 125th Street. They consist mostly of three rooms without bath or heat in the older houses, or of four compartments in the rear of the newer tenements. The second class includes apartments ranging from \$15 to \$23 per month, averaging about \$18. This is by far the largest group, and includes most of the houses in our neighborhood (such as may be seen along middle Amsterdam Avenue and the cross streets). There are generally 4 or 5 rooms with private toilet and hot water, but not always with bath and steam heat. The rooms are arranged "rail-road fashion" in the smaller houses or bunched in one corner of the newer buildings. The next class comprises the better houses along the edges of our neighborhood. Many of the new buildings erected on vacant plots within the last three years, are of this grade. Here are the five-room apartments with steam heat and bath, renting at \$24 to \$28 per month. The last group is composed of all apartments costing \$30 or over. These are the marginal cases, not clearly divided from the former group. They are the six-room flats with a street outlook, such as may be had along Broadway and 134th Street. The suites on 124th Street and St. Nicholas

Avenue, which rent for \$50 and over, can scarcely be considered as within the economic bounds of Manhattanville. A full consideration of realty values and tenement conditions belongs rather to a discussion of the local housing problem. So much may suffice upon this point to give some conception of the economic standards of our neighborhood. We may summarize our conclusions upon rent with the general statement, that apartments in this section are let at the rate of \$1 per room per week; 25 cents more brings comfort; 25 cents less means hardship.

Another item of some importance in estimating the general manner of life among the people is the amount of money spent for food. A rough idea of this may be gained from the average weekly grocery bills. These are fairly comprehensive from our neighbors, because such accounts include most of the bread, milk, vegetables and fruit used by the tenement families, as well as the staple groceries and provisions. The accounts of one of the best known dealers in the section confirm certain generalizations upon this point. The conclusions in brief are, that the weekly bills range from \$3 to \$11, averaging about \$8 for the usual family of five persons; that the lower expenditures are due to small families, and that the higher cost is attributable to demand for a better grade of goods. One fact that strikes the investigator is the poor economy resulting from the purchase of supplies in small quantities. Because of the lack of proper facilities for storing such things, fruit is bought by the piece, potatoes by the quart and coal by the bucket. The price seems low, but the retail profits are large. Another source of more serious results is the bargain sale of stale or slightly damaged supplies.

We cannot here attempt a further analysis of the standard of living among our neighbors. The facts noted, however, may indicate a general basis of values established in this section.

Let us suppose that a man with a wife and three young children receives a wage of \$15 a week. Assume that he is able to obtain suitable rooms for \$15 a month.¹ As we have just seen, food will cost about \$1 a day. Allow 50 cents a week for light and heat, and there remains \$4 for clothing, medicine, insurance and all other necessary expenses. Obviously no great margin is left for recreation or investment. If there is sickness, someone must do without a new dress to pay the doctor's bill. In times of strike or a dull season the cupboard is likely to be rather bare. When an accident befalls the chief wage-earner, the wife and children must go to work. This resource failing, there is nothing to do but pawn the furniture or seek assistance, first from friends, then from some society. Seven hundred and fifty dollars a year is so near the level of subsistence for an average family in New York city, that a period of misfortune rapidly reduces such people to the necessity of asking aid.

From January 1, 1900, to December 31, 1905, there were recorded 896 cases of charitable aid sought or obtained for our neighborhood. From July 1, 1905, to July 1, 1906, 288 such cases were reported.² The distri-

¹The median for cases noted in our neighborhood was \$22.

²This includes both new cases and old ones continued within this period. Active treatment or relief by any organization is not necessarily implied. For the data used in these paragraphs, the writer is indebted to the officials of the Charity Organization Society, for permission to consult their general files and also the records of the Riverside District.

bution of these instances throughout the section is indicated by the circles on the accompanying map.¹ It will be seen at a glance that these differ considerably in their frequency, varying from 25 to 30 in the blocks bordering upper and lower Amsterdam Avenue, to nothing (or a negligible quantity) along Broadway and 129th Street. Nor is this arrangement due merely to relative density of population; for the ratio of such cases to the total numbers in the block range from 1 in every 150 persons, to 1 in 20. The causes for this divergence are difficult to extract. In general it may be said that the localities where poverty abounds are the sections wherein are the cheapest houses, the most tenants of various racial stocks, the largest families and the greatest numbers of unskilled laborers. This does not explain local poverty, but merely states its vicious circle of mutually conditioned circumstances.

For the neighborhood as a whole, the percentage of poverty based upon these figures is 1.56 per cent. But this number by no means represents the extent of want. In the first place, it must be corrected so as to apply to entire households rather than to individuals. Upon this basis the amount is about 7 per cent.² This may fairly well represent the proportion of publicly recognized poverty. The mass that hides away in desolate tenements can only be guessed at.

Let us briefly analyze some of the cases under treatment, in order better to understand the circumstances of those who fail. For this purpose we have taken the 33

¹ See Frontispiece.

² Our formula is, $4.5 (\text{no. cases}) = \text{no. individuals in families}$. This, however, is a small figure to represent the average number of persons in such households, as we shall see.

households in the hands of the local branch of the Charity Organization Society during December last. These cases involved 181 persons—26 men, 31 women and 124 children. In size the households varied from a single individual to a family with 9 children, averaging between 5 and 6 persons, including 4 children. As to marital condition, 25 were married couples, 6 were widows, 1 a widower and 1 solitary woman. In age the men varied from 25 years to 73 years, with the median between 38 and 39 years; the women ranged from 20 to 79, centering at 37. Accordingly it is a middle-aged group with which we have to deal. In regard to nationality, 12 heads of households were native-born whites, 12 Irish, 4 English, and the others Scotch, German, Dutch, Swedish and negro respectively. It is interesting to find no Hebrews nor Italians in this small number. Nearly all the foreigners had been in this country over 15 years, several having married American wives. Most of them had been in the city for a number of years. With regard to occupations, 5 of the men were engaged in transportation (as drivers, conductors, etc.), 4 were builders—here note 3 plasterers out of work—4 were in general service, 3 laborers, and the same number in manufacturing lines and clerkships respectively. The women were janitresses or did day's work, several thus helping out the family resources. One old lady supported herself and a grandchild by sewing. So far as expenses were concerned, most of the rents varied from \$12 to \$15, several lodgings being given for performing janitor service. It is difficult for a family of eight or nine persons to live beautifully in three or four rooms. Yet many of our neighbors attempt to do so.

Having now indicated the circumstances of those

people who fall below the level of subsistence, let us attempt to discover some of the occasions of their misfortune. A hasty reading of the cases considered reveals the fact, that in eleven, lack of steady work was the principal condition of hardship. In two other instances, this situation was complicated by a native shiftlessness and inefficiency on the part of the wage-earner. In the cases of three women left with families, failure to secure sufficient work to gain an adequate income was also a contributory cause. One business failure may be included with this group. This general economic situation sometimes leads to an insidious moral degeneration. For leisure to hang around corners and to "sponge" drinks from sympathizing friends, softens a man's fiber.

The economic situation is rendered acute by the sickness, disability or death of the chief wage-earner. In 7 cases, women were left with families to support; in 6 others, sickness caused hardship; and in 4 more, disability from accident or old age rendered income precarious. This general group of causes is perhaps more characteristic of our neighborhood than any other.¹ Desertion occasionally appears, but it is not noted among this number. It sometimes arises from an effort to obtain work elsewhere. The new-found liberty may become so attractive that old ties are broken.

A contributory circumstance in several cases (9 all told) is the size of the family. When a young workingman is earning good pay, marriage is apt to be hastened,

¹ It is interesting to note, that at the time of the last Census, 40 per cent of the patients of the J. Hood Wright Emergency Hospital were Irish; 60 per cent were Americans.

and the children arrive rapidly. But when accident or death intervenes, the number of mouths to be fed is a serious problem. This is especially the case when the whole burden is thrown on the wife or widow. Children are doubtless the poor man's blessing; but seven, eight or nine youngsters without means of support, become an embarrassment for the time being. Many children may be seen about the Hollow, bringing home wood and carrying bundles for the market men. But such work furnishes a meager income.

Another index of the prosperity of a community is the relative number of families owning their homes. In 1900, 51 instances of property so held were reported for our section. These households comprised 197 related persons, *i. e.*, 1.34 per cent of the population at that time. The dwellings were mostly the small, old houses left in the original Irish and German settlements about Lawrence and 130th Streets. In a few instances, however, the owner had put up a tenement on his land, and looked after the renting himself. It will be recollected that five persons in the list of occupations (Table XV) were returned as landlords. Half of all the properties were mortgaged. Many of the owners of houses were widows sharing their homes with relatives. The recent increase in land values has caused most of the old dwellings to disappear; and it is probably true that fewer houses are now owned by the residents. Real estate is not held that way any longer. Land is sold or leased to a company that disposes of it to a speculator, or puts up a row of apartments for rent. The operation is frequently mortgaged to the contractor or other persons. The type of house is cheap, and is kept filled by concessions in the payments of rent. In the words of an old resi-

dent, "Houses nowadays are built by the Dagos, owned by the Jews, and paid for by poor Irish tenants."

So much may indicate the general economic conditions that control the lives of the people in Manhattanville. We must next endeavor to discover the effects of these circumstances upon the vitality of the local population.

CHAPTER V

VITAL TENDENCIES

THE primary social phenomenon in vital statistics is marriage. The number of unions and the age of the contracting parties indicate the relative prosperity and determine the normal rate of increase in the population. Referring to Table XI (p. 49), we find that 17.4 per thousand represents the marriage rate in 1900. As already stated, we have no data for making this crude ratio exact. The rate obtained is high, however;¹ and shows that a moderate degree of prosperity is sufficient to warrant our neighbors in assuming the responsibilities of a family. This proportion varies among different elements in the population, being lower among the colored people, the Italians and the native white stock, than among most of the immigrants. The number of widows and separated persons is also given in the table referred to.

The proportion of such married persons to the total population at successive age periods is indicated roughly on Plate A. The usual age at marriage may be inferred from the subjoined distribution, obtained from the records of Annunciation parish for the Inter-Lenten period of 1908-09.

¹ Cf. Newsholme, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

	-20 yrs.	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	Medians
Men	1	11	19	15	5	1	28 yrs., 8.4 mo.
Women ...	6	16	18	10	1	1	26 yrs., 1.2 mo.

This shows a fairly mature union, which may be regarded as typical of our Irish-American neighbors. Intermarriages noted in this list were, Americans with Irish, Scotch, Germans and French; Irish with Dutch and Italian. Eight mixed weddings in fifty-two shows a fairly high degree of national amalgamation (with common religious ties).

The most essential vital factor is the number of births. For the year ending June 1, 1905, 486 births were recorded, which gives a crude rate of 26.36 per thousand.¹ This increase was not distributed evenly throughout the population, however, but was centered in certain parts, as shown by the stars on our map. The comparative increase of different blocks varied widely. Nor was this due solely to the composition of the local population; for the range in number of births per thousand women between the ages of 20 and 45 years, extended from none at all (where 13 such females were noted), to 264 per thousand,² the average on this basis being 112.3.

This high degree of variability is significant. The blocks that show the greatest fecundity ratio are those on the northern hill between Broadway and Convent

¹ There were 262 boys and 224 girls. The rate becomes 27.39, if the estimated population for January 1, 1905, be taken as the basis, and correction be made for inmates of institutions. These corrections, however, involve more uncertainty than they add in precision.

² Solitary instances omitted.

Avenue. This region, it will be remembered, is one of cheap tenements, occupied by a mixed Irish-American population of comparatively recent entry. A second group is found along 125th Street east of Amsterdam Avenue. The two blocks west of these also show a large number of births. But in one case the numbers of American women in the more expensive flats on 124th Street, who did not bear children, cut down the ratio of the block. In the square north of it the thrifty natives also reduced the percentage. The blocks centering on the two main diagonal streets of the old village are the ones that show a low rate of increase. This suggests that the rate of increase may be correlated with the nationality of the local population. Let us see if this is the case.

Unfortunately the registration of births by streets does not indicate the parent-nativity. We have, however, an index of comparative fertility and survival in the number of children to a family, whose head is registered according to birth-place. In 1900, the proportion of households with a given number of children of native origin was as follows:

TABLE XXII

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES HAVING A GIVEN NUMBER OF CHILDREN
ACCORDING TO PARENT NATIVITY OF NATIVE-BORN (MARRIED) HEADS

No. of Children	U. S. (White)	Ireland	Germany	England and Wales	Scotland	Canada	France	Other	Mixed	Total Foreign Parent	Total Native White	Negro
0.....	.25	.15	.20	.25	.15	.33	.30	.40	.11	.18	.21	.42
1.....	.31	.17	.18	.20	.25	..	.10	.30	.43	.19	.24	.29
2.....	.22	.18	.25	.30	.10	..	.20	.20	.05	.20	.21	.14
3.....	.10	.20	.17	.16	.15	.33	.10	.10	.22	.19	.15	.05
4.....	.05	.12	.09	.02	.20	.17	.10	..	.11	.10	.08	.03
5.....	.04	.11	.06	.04	.15	.17	..	..	.05	.08	.06+	.04
6.....	.02	.03	.02	..	..	..	.10	..	..	.03	.02	.02
7.....	.01	.01	.01	.01	..	..	.10	..	..	.01+	.01+	.01
8.....	..	.02	.01	..	..	..	..	..	.03	.01	.01	..
9.....	..	.01	.01	..	..	..	..	..	..	.01	.01	..
Av. no. ...	1.6	2.6	2.2	1.7	2.4	1.5	2.5	1	2.1	2.2	2.1	1.2

It is obvious from this table that the native stock in this section has not been maintaining itself, despite constant reinforcement from Irish, German and British sources. The figures for American-born persons of Scotch, Canadian, French and other foreign parentage cannot be taken as very accurate, because of the comparatively small number of instances upon which the percentages are based. For the first three elements the ratios and averages may be considered as fairly reliable indices for the period referred to.

The negroes clearly have not been holding their own. This is due to a low marriage rate, high infant mortality and certain distempers attacking colored people in our

great cities. Regarding our table as a chart of racial survival, we may say that these people are liable to die out under such conditions.

Let us see how the account stands for our "imported Americans." The following table presents this data so far as obtainable for 1900.

TABLE XXIII
PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES (FOREIGN-BORN HEADS) HAVING GIVEN
NUMBER OF CHILDREN

No.	Ireland	Germany	England and Wales	Scandinavia	Scotland	Switzerland	Italy	Russia and Poland	Austria-Hungary	France	Canada	Other	Mixed	Total
0..	.15	.15	.26	.20	.11	.16	.26	.14	.20	.35	.51	.26	.07	.17
1..	.19	.23	.20	.22	.22	.22	.12	.06	.24	.10	.18	.26	.43	.21
2..	.22	.23	.17	.25	.29	.16	.16	.25	.24	.10	.18	.16	.22	.22
3..	.17	.17	.14	.14	.24	.24	.21	.31	.20	.20	...	.11	.21	.17
4..	.13	.12	.11	.08	.11	.11	.19	.11	...	.15	.07	.11	...	.12
5..	.07	.05	.03	.05	...	.02	.04	.08	.04	.05	...	.10	.07	.05
6..	.03	.03	.05	.04	.02	.05	.02	...	.08	...	...	...	...	.03
7..	.02	.01	.03	.02	.01	.04	...	.03	...	.05	...	...	...	.02
8..	.01	.005	.01	...	...	...	...	.02	...	...	.06	...	...	.007
9..	.01	.005	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.003
10..	.001	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Av. no.	2.5	2.3	2.1	2	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.5	1.6	2.2	1.2	1.8	1.9	2.3

This table also presents statistical irregularities in the latter columns (due to insufficient data) which might be corrected by interpolation. But taking the ratios based on actual returns we note some interesting comparisons and contrasts with the figures for the native families just

presented. In general, it will be observed, the naturalized peoples—Celts and Teutons—are increasing more rapidly than the so-called American stock. So far as we can judge from our limited returns, this is also true of the Latins and the Hebrews. The rate for the foreign-born as a whole exceeds that of the natives. The difference at first appears slight. But when we realize that 10 established American families produce 16 children, whereas the same number of foreign households show 23, the disproportion becomes evident. When we observe that 66 children out of 100 have foreign parents, 25 are of the second generation of immigrants and 9 have American grandparents, we conclude that the native race occasionally referred to is not so much being displaced as reformed.

The increase for the section as a whole, however—native and foreign—is scarcely sufficient to insure rapid growth. We have already remarked that the development is by accretion. But let us now consider what is the type of man here produced. For this purpose we have taken the records of physical examinations of the young people in the classes and clubs of Speyer School for a period covering eight years.¹ The numbers at each age are relatively small (360 records covering eight years of age), but the results furnish a reasonably accurate index of the development of children living in Manhattanville. The medians of measurements for each year are given² and compared (without correction) with those

¹For the completion of these data, the writer is indebted to Miss Amy Schüssler, Principal of the school, who permitted access to recent records.

²Since ages were not always noted by months, the mid-year period was used.

given by Hastings for typical American school children.¹ Beside these are placed the figures for the pupils of Horace Mann School, which is a selected group of prosperous young New Yorkers.²

TABLE XXIV
PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

Age	Height (in inches)						Weight (in pounds)					
	Speyer S.		Hastings		H. M. S.		Speyer S.		Hastings		H. M. S.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.
7			45.6	45.3	48.1	47.4			46.9	45.5	50.9	48.5
8	46.9	47.6	47.7	47.3	49.7	49.1	47	48.7	50.8	48.8	54.8	53.1
9	49.3	49.4	49.6	49.7	51.7	51	50.5	51	55	54.7	59.5	59.9
10	50.4	50.2	51.6	51.7	53.2	53.3	52.8	54.3	61.2	59.8	64.5	65.6
11	53.4	52.5	53.1	53.2	55.2	55.8	61.5	61	65.8	63.8	69.9	73.6
12	55.3	55.1	55.3	55.9	57.4	58.1	68.2	67.5	72.6	72.6	77.2	81.3
13	56.6	57.7	57.1	58.5	59	60.3	72.6	76.5	78.3	83.4	83.5	92.4
14	56.7	59.4	59.4	60.3	61.3	62	74.5	95	87.3	94.4	95	103.1
15	60.4	61.4	62.3	61.7	64.4	62.7	88.5	92 ³	103.2	102.8	108	110.0

¹ Cf. W. W. Hastings, *Manual for Physical Measurements*.

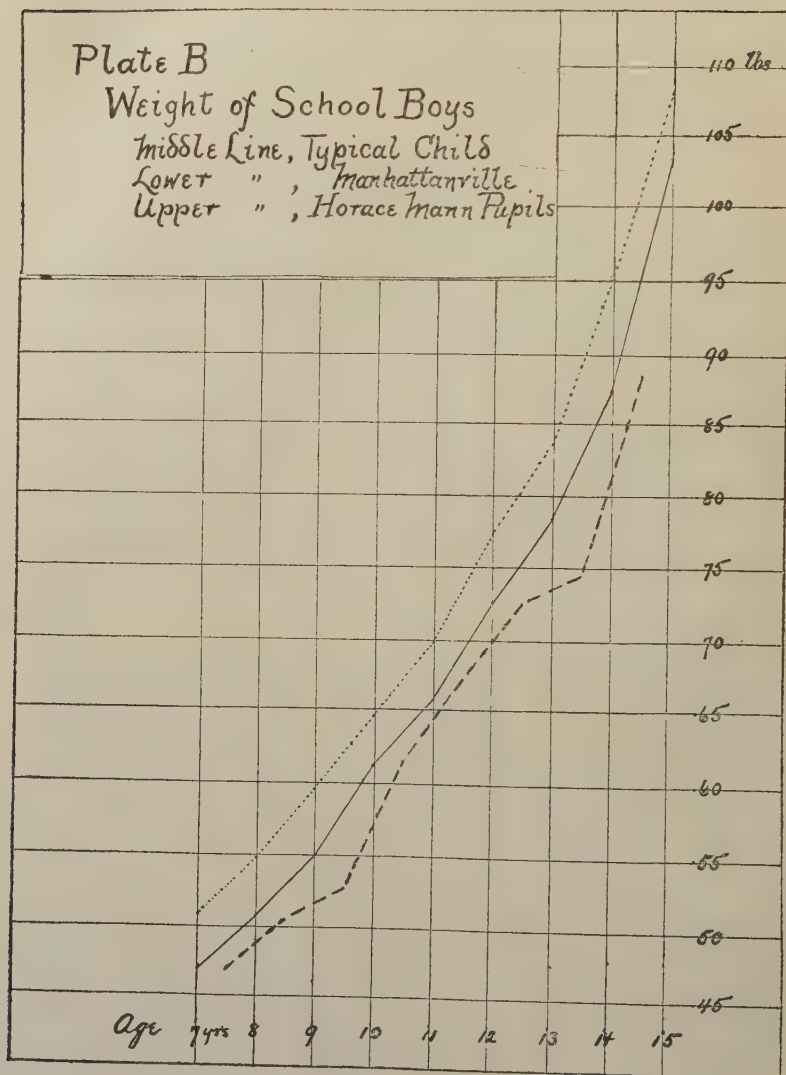
² This exhibit was secured through the kindness of Dr. W. H. McCastline and Miss J. R. Seibert, Recorder.

³ Doubtful value.

Age	Lung Capacity (cu. in.)						Strength of Grip (pounds)					
	Speyer S.		Hastings		H. M. S.		Speyer S.		Hastings		H. M. S.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.
7			60	51	77.9	70			20	15	28.2	25.6
8	74.5	60.5	70	60	85.7	78.6	33.6 ¹	23.8	24	20	32.9	28.4
9	81.5	80	82	70	97.8	87.3	31.6	26.4	29	22	37.5	32.9
10	95.5	84.4	90	77	107.2	94.8	35.2	29.7	33	29	43.6	35.7
11	101.5	100	101	82	114.8	107.7	35.9	34.1	40	31	48.7	41.2
12	110.5	104.6	112	94	125.9	118.9	45.1	40.3	44	35	55.3	46
13	120.8	125.2	124	105	140.2	142.1	49.1	45.7	51	40	59.9	53.5
14	123.5	122 ¹	144	113	158.8	144.5	53.9	49.5	55	46	68.8	59
15	145	131	161	123	183.7	154.3	56.7	55.8	64	53	78.3	62.5

On looking over these columns, one is first struck with the impression that the three groups proceed rather evenly, the neighborhood children being midway between the typical American child and the more favored private school pupils. But closer examination shows that this general excellence does not hold in regard to weight (the high average for girls of 13 being due to the presence of five cases of early maturity). This fact comes out more clearly in the case of the boys. The accompanying "graph" shows how the weight of our young neighbors runs from two to five pounds under the general level for boys of the same age. In respect to vital capacity and strength, however, these children compare

¹ Doubtful values; readings few or scattering.



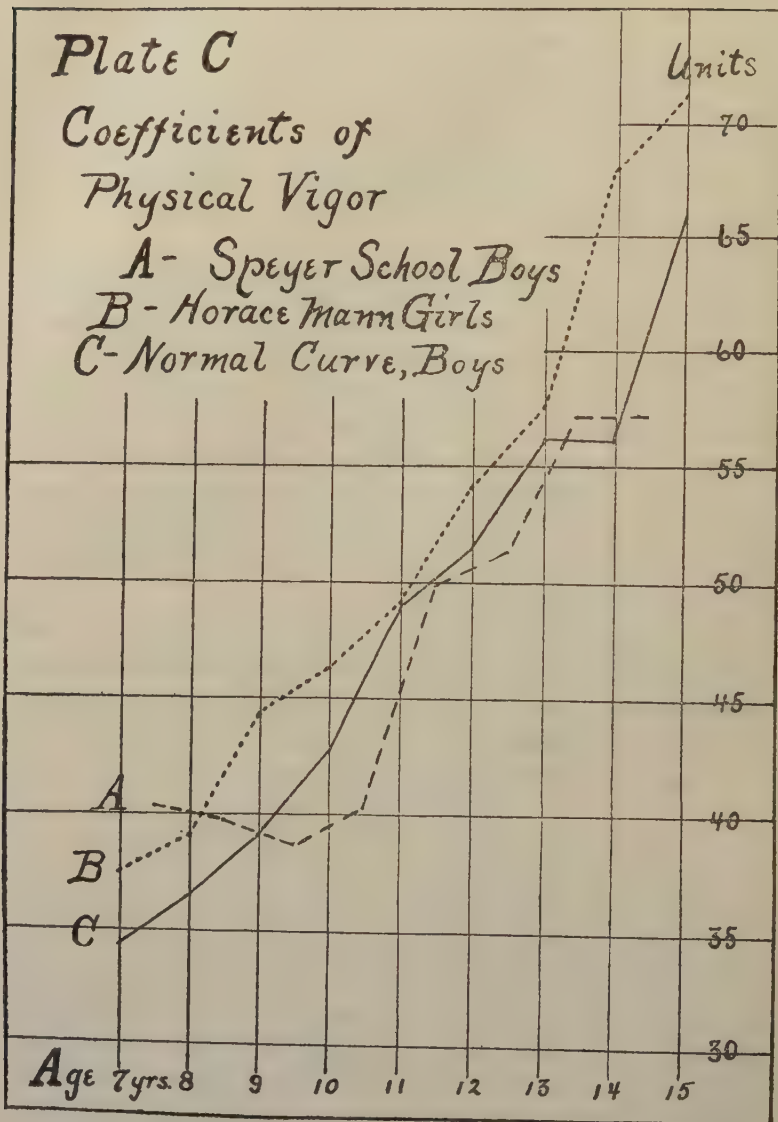
very favorably with the normal ratings, the girls especially being considerably above the average. It has been suggested that running up the steep slopes may have something to do with lung capacity. In both the spirometer and dynamometer tests, however, so much depends upon whether young children know how to work the machine, that too much reliance cannot be placed upon these figures.

So far as general development is concerned, it may be said that the little boys (say from eight to ten years) are probably stronger than the average child. But at twelve a tendency to fall off begins to appear in all the measurements. Why this should be so, we are unable to say, unless it is that with approaching puberty unfavorable conditions of life begin to show their effects. There are some evidences of malnutrition and underfeeding among the children, and a rather marked tendency to kyphosis has been noted.

The relative physical stamina of the children can be determined only by reducing the various measurements to some common coefficient and comparing expressions of this. For illustrating the method we have combined the four items given above in this way:

$$\text{Coefficient of Vigor} = \frac{\text{Weight}}{\text{Height}} \times \frac{\text{Strength}}{\text{Lung capacity}}$$

The first half of the expression shows the relative mass and bottom of the organism. It is thus a rough measure of nutrition and general stamina. The second half shows the energy and staying power available for work. It is thus a measure of force and vital action. The combination gives a rather adequate expression for physical capacity, based upon fairly simple measurements. The coefficient increases toward unity at about maturity.



Comparing the boys of Speyer School with the standards given by Hastings, we find that their vigor measured on such a scale of units is rather under the average. The curves in Plate C show graphically a comparison of the two. The third line is put in to indicate the level of a selected group of girls. We may add that this method shows the other two curves for girls weaving together below that for the boys until the age of thirteen, when they both rise above the male level.

Having now obtained some notion of the physical type in our neighborhood, let us see how healthy the people are, and with what success they resist disease. As a partial indication of morbidity, all cases of contagious or dangerous communicable diseases recorded by the Department of Health for 1905 were marked in our Social Welfare Map.¹ It will be noted that the crosses are not spread evenly, but are massed with other symbols about the centers of densest population (along 125th Street and on upper Amsterdam Avenue). The frequencies of the various diseases were thus reported: measles, 109; diphtheria, 42; scarlet fever, 37; typhoid, 9; meningitis, 9; tuberculosis, 81; erysipelas, 1. If the cases had been spread evenly, this number would mean that one person out of every sixty-seven (on the basis of the population for that year) would have been affected with some such complaint; and this would have involved every fifteenth family. In other words, about every other house would have been under quarantine once during the year. As a matter of fact, some tenements had small epidemics, comprising three or four cases, and were placarded two or three times within the period.

¹For this data the writer is indebted to the kindness of Dr. K. H. Claghorn, Registrar of the Tenement House Department.

Next to measles, tuberculosis is most prevalent. Although the cases are widely scattered, several houses had two or three. One dwelling numbered eight victims within five years. The worst showing is made by the old tenements along Lawrence and Manhattan Streets. The sufferers were mostly men of middle age, from native or Irish stock. Exposure and careless habits of life diminish the chances for recovery. Diphtheria was hardest on our little Irish-American friends up the hill; scarlet fever raged in the polyglot flats on 125th Street. Typhoid was pretty well centered in the low blocks, three cases occurring on land where an old pond formerly spread. The cases of meningitis are indicative of an epidemic at that time, aggravated by flooded streets.

The subject of morbidity leads us finally to consider the local death-rate. The 312 deaths reported for Manhattanville for June 1, 1904, to June 1, 1905,¹ have been roughly located by the dots on the map. Like the other entries, they also cluster about the centers of new life, but prevail rather in the old low-lying blocks. The causes given for these deaths, following the classification of the Department of Health, appear opposite:

From this tabulation it is plain that tuberculosis is the worst enemy our neighbors have to face. If we add to this number the other cases of diseases affecting the respiratory system, we have accounted for 30 per cent of the deaths. Moreover, if we compare the number of deaths from consumption with the cases reported during the year, we find that the proportion of fatality is very

¹ For this data the writer is indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Wm. H. Guilfoy, Registrar of the Department of Health. The crude rate of 16.89 before given, becomes 17.58 if corrections be made as indicated for the birth-rate. Such alterations do not materially affect the resultant rate for genetic increase, which is shown, moreover, to be of comparatively slight importance.

TABLE XXV

CAUSE OF DEATHS

I. General Diseases	91
a. Tuberculosis	44
b. Cancer	15
II. Diseases of Nervous System and Sense Organs ..	34
a. Meningitis.....	17
III. Diseases of Circulatory System	18
a. Heart Disease	15
IV. Diseases of Respiratory System.....	36
a. Pneumonia	19
V. Disease of Digestive System	57
a. Diarrhea—Infants	35
b. Cirrhosis of Liver.....	9
VI. Diseases of Genito-urinary System.....	29
a. Bright's Disease	19
VII. Puerperal Diseases.....	4
VIII. Diseases of Skin and Cellular Tissue.....	2
IX. Congenital Debility—Infants	15
X. External Causes.....	20
a. Accident.....	17
b. Suicide	3
XI. Not Specified	6

high.¹ The victims of diabetes, heart disease and cancer are also comparatively numerous. The large number of deaths attributed to meningitis was due to a serious outbreak in the winters of 1905-6. Three cases of alcoholism added to those of cirrhosis of the liver, may give some indication of habits of life. The number of accidents and suicide may throw light upon the circumstances of the people as to work and welfare.

Next to pulmonary complaints, the diseases of infancy are the most serious. Seventy-seven babies under one year died within the period chosen. That was about

¹Over 54 per cent, if we may regard the number of cases reported within the year as giving a rate of attack. This, however, is uncertain.

one-quarter of the total deaths, and nearly 16 per cent of all the children born within the year. The principal causes were dysentery and congenital debility. The former reflects somewhat upon methods of feeding; the latter indicates a certain weakness in the stock.

The age at death is important as indicating the mean duration of life, and suggesting the social consequences likely to arise from demise at such an age period. The

TABLE XXVI
AGE AT DEATH, 1905

Age	Males	Females
- 1	43	34
1- 2	12	7
2- 5	10	5
5-10	5	6
10-15	1	2
15-20	4	5
20-25	3	7
25-30	4	12
30-35	16	9
35-40	10	5
40-45	20	11
45-50	10	5
50-60	14	12
60-70	11	14
70-80	4	5
80 +	2	4
Total	169	143

actual distribution of decedents in small age groups is given herewith. Without attempting to construct a life table from such data, we may note certain tendencies manifest therein. First, the number of men who died this year was greater than that of the women. This fact was probably due to the nature of their work. Sec-

only, most of the men died between the ages of 30 and 45, the most productive period. Thirdly, their survival was not as long as that of the women. Upon the basis of such generalizations we can now begin to understand the relation existing between poverty and the death-rate. When the wage-earner dies, leaving a large family for his widow to support, we have one well established cause for destitution.

The season of the year at which most deaths fall is also of interest, as indicating the time when the pressure on life is apt to be heaviest. For the period selected, the number of deaths was greater in the late winter and lowest in the early summer, showing a rise in the hot months and a drop in September, before rising again in cold weather. This wave shows in general the movement of mortality, increasing with inclement weather and subsiding when the season is mild. The significance of the weather for children who must play on the streets or be cooped up in the tenements, and for the wage-earners who toil in the open, is very great.

Having indicated the vital currents in our neighborhood, let us now attempt to show the interrelation of these factors of population and economic welfare more definitely. For this purpose we have taken twenty-five blocks of our section where data was sufficient, and have arranged them in order according to their mean position in density, national and racial intermixture, and percentage of poverty, births, contagion and death.¹ The rates vary considerably, and the correlation is rough;² but the

¹ This method of comparison was suggested by Booth's chart, *Life and Labor in London*, Final Volume, p. 17.

² The probable errors of the final order are rather large, but are not sufficient to shift any position more than six places (as a rule, not more than three).

results are sufficiently accurate to show the comparative basis for our map.

TABLE XXVII

COMPARATIVE ORDER OF TWENTY-FIVE BLOCKS WITH THEIR VARIATIONS
IN FACTORS OF SOCIAL WELL-BEING

Blocks in Order	Density per Acre	Per cent Mixture	Poverty (cases) per 1,000	Births per 1,000 Women 20-45 yrs.	Con- tagion per 1,000	Deaths per 1,000
9125 w	209	.355	34	172	28.5	32.3
9124	161	.352	29	154	27.5	20.6
9133 w	314	.357	28	217.38	11.3	18.8
10132 e	315	.314	23	183	11.34	24.4
10131 e	338	.303	11.8	173	15.4	20.9
10126	37	.388	30	67	44.7	37.3
11130	76	.535	50	78	17.5	15
9131 w	279	.34	21.7	121	29.9	9.3
10129 w	160	.318	8	264	14	27.9
10126 n.e	150	.321	16.6	86	16.6	20.8
10130 e	102	.313	33.84	81	12.3	27.7
10130 w	287	.421	9.7	187	4.9	14.6
9125	200	.28	21.1	96	14.9	15.6
10133	30	.406	12.5	167	6.2	18.7
9130 w	307	.30	9.9	94	17.4	9.9
10125	334	.29	7	88	19.8	12.2
10129 e	156	.31	11.2	128	11.2	14.9
10124	392	.20	11.4	74	15.8	12.3
8125 w	215	.45	3	38	7.8	12.5
8126 w	395	.25	6	97	12.2	14.8
9129 w	93	.39	10	121.6	6.7	6.7
10127 w	131	.33	5.6	75	5.6	20.4
9126 e	144	.254	9.3	149	9.3	6.2
9127 w	34	.24	13	62.5	...	19.3
8124 w	86	.19	9	18	...	9
Average (43 blocks)	128	.339	15.6	112.3	15.3	16.89

On glancing over the columns one is struck by the manner in which most of the factors vary together. The apparent disorder of the rates of density is not so aberrant as it may at first appear; for on consulting the

table for the distribution of population, it will be noted that even in comparatively unoccupied blocks, the tenements are often bunched within a small space. The relation of density to ethnic intermixture is by no means simple, since a number of immigrants stick to the small houses, as well as filling up the newer blocks. But in general, they now crowd into the cheap apartments along 125th Street and on upper Amsterdam Avenue. Two negro colonies and settlements of a number of Irish and German families in several thinly populated blocks, explain the only import cases where correspondence is lacking in this respect. The connection between poverty and crowding is plain on an economic basis. The obvious exceptions are the more ambitious tenants of the well-filled blocks east of Morningside Avenue.

The relation between density and birth-rate is plainer. It is apparently due to a common economic basis, as Booth has suggested.¹ The enumerations for our neighborhood show that the largest ratios of young children and of unskilled laborers generally occur in the same blocks. There is also a close connection between a high birth-rate and the proportion of foreign elements (which include most laborers) as we have already shown. The connection between the last three items is on the whole, direct and simple. Infants have the highest rate of mortality; and children are more subject to contagious diseases, such as measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria and meningitis, which are the main entries in our health reports. The apparent exceptions to this general rule can, for the most part, be explained as instances where the death of a few older people in a thinly populated block brought up the death-rate rapidly. Where this

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

is not the case (*i. e.*, a high death-rate, a low birth-rate and a crowded section coinciding), we find cases of tuberculosis frequent.¹ This is the greatest factor in adult mortality, as we have seen.

¹ Such an analysis of conditions and tendencies might be made more exact by comparing the various rates for different houses. But this is scarcely in place here. A most interesting and profitable study of city life might be presented by an investigator who would trace the social history of a single large tenement for a number of years.

CHAPTER VI

MOVEMENTS OF POPULATION

WE have now gained a somewhat definite conception of the character of the population of Manhattanville, as it was between 1900 and 1905. The question then arises, what tendencies are at present apparent? How have the people changed? What movements are noticeable within the group that point the course of future development? In this final section, we must attempt to indicate certain answers to these questions of more contemporary interest.

We have already noted that the coming of rapid transit broke down the primitive character of village life. The swarming in of a cosmopolitan population bids fair soon to eliminate all traces of this little province in the Hollow. The history of the section has been, in an increasing degree, that of a local aggregation, instead of a community growing from within. Let us first try to estimate the volume and character of this movement.

The general cause of the northward pressure of population is given by the shape of Manhattan Island. As trade and industry developed first about the lower apex, the people had to spread in this direction or diverge throughout the region surrounding the harbor. The most direct course was up the North and East Rivers. Rapid communication soon made this possible as far as Harlem. Beyond this point, the narrowing shores of the Island forced the people westward or obliged them to cross into the Bronx. The "Highlands" were gradually

invaded, as we have seen. But for folks without carriages, the opening between the hills offered an easier route of access. Here a comparatively spacious place for homes was found, at fairly low rates. A man could have a garden and keep chickens. Gradually certain neighborhood ties were established among the settlers. The Irish and German colonists acquired religious and other social organizations. Such settlements became nuclei for the gathering of persons of the same birth and traditions. As the new tenements went up, other elements entered, formed little centers and gradually scattered throughout the neighborhood. But cheap rent was the principal attraction. So as the flats continued to rise, various sorts of people pressed in.

We have seen that the birth-rate of this section was not sufficient to account for its growth. We have also noted that between 1900 and 1905, sixty-four small houses disappeared to make room for fifty-seven new flats. Obviously the city tenement is not an index of an expanding people, but a sign of a superimposed population. The occupants of these houses, old and new, have been traced in the two enumerations, and a comparison of the households made in the table opposite.

It appears that the large foreign households are being forced out by the small native families. We must recollect, however, that a large part of the increase in native-born is from the offspring of immigrants and from negroes.¹

These figures furnish us with a basis for estimating the rate of migration into our neighborhood. If we add the total number of persons who moved into new houses to the population in 1905 (as estimated from the

¹ Negroes increased 60 per cent from 1900 to 1905.

TABLE XXVIII

HOUSEHOLDS DISPLACED, 1900-5; PERSONS IN NEW HOUSES, 1905

Nativity	1900 (Heads)	1905 (Persons)
Austria-Hungary	1	20
Canada	3	....
England and Wales	4	66
France	2	15
Germany	27	179
Ireland	11	173
Italy	2	9
Poland and Russia	3	36
Scotland	1	17
Scandinavia	1	15
Switzerland	3	....
United States	23	2118
Others	1	85
Mixed	1	....
Total Households	83	....
“ Persons	495	2733
“ Children	204	822

genetic increase for that year applied to the figures for 1900) we have not yet the sum returned by the last City census.¹ The discrepancy (19 per cent) must be explained on the supposition that more people moved in, or that the rate of natural increase during the five years was higher than that assumed. The first hypothesis is largely correct. We may say, however, that at least 15 per cent of the increase between the census years was due to immigration. But how great was the flow from which this surplus remained, we cannot say. The population now moves rapidly. A priest in the local parish stated that almost one-third of his congregation changes from year to year.

Some notion of the rapidity of the exodus may be had

¹ 15383 + 2733 = 18116. Cf. p. 39.

from the number of transfers issued to pupils of the local public school. During the six months from September to March, 1909, the children of 116 families were thus shifted. This was from an average attendance of about 2,000, during months when moving is comparatively infrequent. One naturally asks, whence do these people come and whither do they go? Let us see.

The origins of the foreign-born population have already been indicated.¹ The course of the natives is more difficult to plot. But as straws sometimes show the flow of currents, we have noted a few instances that may indicate certain tendencies. Of the children of Speyer School born outside of the city, the greatest number come from nearby towns in Jersey. This suggests that the Fort Lee Ferry has brought some persons into Manhattanville, and has also been the way out for others. So far as the data for those born in New York is concerned, it bears out a rather interesting phenomenon of social geography.²

As we have seen, the population has been moving up the island, first on the east side and then on the west. The Irish were displaced from the Cherry Hill district, and took to the lower West Side. They have been pushing north from Hell's Kitchen, and settled in numbers along Tenth and Eleventh Avenues as far as 70th Street. They are pressed in the rear by negroes, and followed by newer arrivals from Southern Europe. But as Broadway swings west and Riverside Drive begins, the Irish have followed Ninth and Amsterdam Avenues north past Central Park, and so arrive in our section. On the other side of the Park the German colony was

¹ Cf. Chapter ii, Tables IX and XII.

² The addresses on the case cards of the local C. O. S. confirm the generalization to be advanced.

forced out of the lower East Side toward Harlem, and their descendants spread to the Bronx or scattered westward before the Jews and Italians who followed them.

Now, though the social stratification of the island has been largely established along the Avenues, important cross streets afford a line of transfusion. Such a line has been given by 125th Street. It is interesting to note, therefore, that though Manhattanville has representatives of the western route, it is also being filled in by Hebrews and Italians from Harlem. This crossing of currents in the Hollow gives it a particular demographic interest.

But when the people leave, which way do they go? As throwing some light on this question, we have charted the general direction in which the families of school children from our section has been moving recently.

TABLE XXIX

DESTINATION OF FAMILIES. SCHOOL RECORDS, FALL AND WINTER, 1908

New York City	128
Manhattan	103
North	38
South	47
East	18
Other Boroughs	25
Bronx	14
Brooklyn	11
Out of City	64
Out of State	40
West	26
East	7
South	7
Out of Country	3
Total	192

These facts are too few to indicate more than surface tendencies. So far as an observer can judge the deeper

movements, the strongest current is northward and into the Bronx. A second well-defined branch is toward the suburban district of Jersey opposite. The down-town return flow is explained largely by "jobs" obtained there, as is also the movement toward the industrial towns of the Middle Western States. So much is perhaps sufficient to indicate that Manhattanville is no longer essentially a neighborhood of homes, but a stopping place. The more successful and ambitious persons expect to move out; a few old settlers remain; a number of other persons can do no better than to stay.

We must next inquire concerning the residuum, its size and character. It is dangerous to estimate a growing city population. We shall not attempt to do so, but merely present certain figures about which the increase probably varies. Applying the rate for the years 1900-1905 to the numbers for the latter date, we have 21,709 as the total for January 1, 1909. But as we have seen, the result depends so much upon the migration into new houses that we have attempted to check this figure by the number of apartments added within the section during the last three years. Since June 1, 1905, there have been built 59 houses containing accommodations for 1511 families.¹ Multiplying the number of apartments by the average size of a household, we should have 6800 additional people. But, as a matter of observation, we know that this number is too large: first, because we noted some 235 apartments vacant during the winter; and secondly, because, as we have just seen, the families that are moving in are smaller than formerly. Since both of these reasons apply especially to the more expensive

¹ For these figures the writer is also indebted to the courtesy of the Tenement House Department, through the kindness of Dr. Claghorn.

new houses on the growing margins of our neighborhood, we should not put the increase on this basis at more than 6000. Subtracting 118 tenants of the 15 houses displaced by these operations within our neighborhood, we have approximately 24,358 persons. With such a large migratory population, the rate of natural increase is an illusory check. But applying it to the numbers for 1905, and adding the tenants of new houses, we have 25,000 as a maximum. From these rough approximations it is evident that the local population is growing more and more rapidly by agglomeration.

Consequent upon the enlarged communication and the rapid inflow of population, has followed a great increase in the value of real estate. The following table was made up from the assessors' lists for thirteen blocks in various parts of our neighborhood.

TABLE XXX

APPRAISED VALUE OF REAL ESTATE, 1904-1908

Block	Land		Improvements	
	1904	1908	1904	1908
8125 w	\$367,500	\$456,000	\$301,500	\$392,000
9125	529,600	796,700	169,600	336,500
9125 w	182,000	229,000	120,000	140,000
9130 w	170,900	234,000	190,000	226,000
9131 w	278,000	469,500	215,500	336,500
10124	549,000	782,700	1,065,200	1,223,300
10125	540,500	776,000	506,000	740,500
10126 n.e	449,600	576,200	115,200	201,800
10127 n.w	122,000	290,400	6,000	347,100
10131 e	222,000	357,500	193,500	238,500
10132 e	257,000	403,000	297,000	385,000
10133	421,000	634,700	37,500	880,300
11132	261,000	383,000	45,000	133,000
Average appreciation		Average increment		
46.86 per cent.		71.08 per cent.		

It will be seen that the rise has been very decided under the stimulation of speculative building.¹ The crest of the boom reached Manhattanville in 1906-7, and has now passed on to the Bronx. But the improvement in land values has been permanent, and a better class of apartment houses is following up Riverside and Convent Avenues.

Naturally a rise in rents has accompanied this increased value of real estate. Tenements that formerly let for \$10-\$16, now cost \$12-\$18. Apartments that rent for \$20-26, were \$18-\$21 three years ago. The result has been to crowd the poorer people into certain old rows, where natural and social selection rapidly sorts, not always the "fittest," but the fittest to survive under such conditions.

This process is intensifying the urban type of segregation. Certain blocks and rows have well-defined standards. A more prosperous type of young business and professional man is pressing up Broadway. The working men are forced into mixed tenements. Houses on the marginal side streets are being filled with the clerk class. Were the section for the present not somewhat overbuilt, the exodus of artisans might be more rapid. But the size of the house does not assure its permanent occupancy by well-to-do tenants. The subdivision of the more recent apartments, unless built upon a plan regarding the convenience for very small units of rooms,

¹A very interesting study might be made by an investigator who would compare the original cost of the land and dwellings in a given section during a certain period; and compare this with their capitalized value as represented by rent, together with their assessed rating and their speculative value as given by recent sales. One is led to believe that in some cases the poorest houses would be found to yield the largest incomes; and that land without incumbrances is the most paying investment for those who can afford to hold for a rise.

may yet furnish as serious a problem for family life as the reconstructed single dwelling.

It is not to be expected that such a study as this should attempt prognostication without the facts of family life, industrial tendency and social organization as a background. And yet certain factors in the composition and movements of the local population should be emphasized, in order to point possible directions of future growth.

Manhattanville is now in an era of rapid development as an urban center. Its neighborhood traditions are largely broken, and a miscellaneous population is filling in. The type of social life to be established is largely dependent upon the surrounding community. For the present, the growth is made up of rather detached elements. The business development of Harlem is bringing in various factors for good and evil. The anonymity of flat life engenders a certain disregard of local welfare. One no longer knows his neighbors. Unless some local spirit beyond political clannishness is encouraged, the social hygiene of the section may become a serious problem. As one sees the development of certain rows filled with foreign and colored people, he fears the fate of the San Juan Hill section on the lower West Side. To be sure, the prosperous residents along Morningside and the Drive would not like to have such factors develop. But already there is at least one place known to young men of the neighborhood, where "a little game" may be enjoyed. Some of the flats not far removed from the University, have women occupants who are not averse to the society of young men.

The general economic tendency of the region cannot be directly effected. But it seems as though an admirable field for the development of practical civics might

be found in the Hollow. The churches and schools are doing all that can be expected of them. Perhaps the University and the College that crown the enclosing hills, might with good effect turn some attention to the growth of the region at their feet. As an experiment in scientific social prophylaxis, the field is a promising one, if cultivated in the spirit of respectful sympathy. The question to be decided within the next ten years is, "Shall Manhattanville be filled with people who are good neighbors; or shall it become a sort of social drain, filled with settlings from the city's economic life?"

VITA

THE writer of this study was born at Harrisburg, Pa., April 22d, 1876. He prepared for college at the Episcopal Academy, Philadelphia, and was graduated from Yale in 1898. In 1901 he took the degree of S. T. B. at the University of Chicago, where he was Fellow in Sociology during the last year. He received a Williams Fellowship at Harvard, and obtained the Master's diploma in 1902. For the next year he directed neighborhood and school extension work in Roxbury (Boston). During 1903-04 he traveled abroad, studying social questions from the settlements of East London, in the schools of Paris and at the University of Berlin. In 1904 he became director of the night classes and neighborhood work at Speyer School, Manhattanville (under the auspices of Teachers' College), where he remained until 1906. At that date he was elected Headworker of Goodrich Social Settlement, Cleveland, and in 1907 was also made Lecturer on Social Questions in Western Reserve. At Columbia he has attended the seminar and lectures of Professor Giddings; classes of Professors Seligman, Clark, Seager and Simkhovitch in economics; and courses in psychology under Professors Cattell and Thorndike. He presented reviews of foreign sociological literature in the *American Journal of Sociology* for 1900-01, and published an article on social education, referred to in the Preface.

